DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 173 235 **SO 011 797**

TITLE	Concept of Culture. Grade 4. Teacher's Background Material: Enculturation, Cultural Variation, Culture Dynamics [And] Pupil Text [And] Pupil Study Guide [And] A Sequential Curriculum in Anthropology. Test: Form 4, Composite Form for Pre- And Post-Test. (Revised, January 1968). Publications No. 13-17 and 42.
INSTITUTION	Georgia Univ., Athens. Anthropology Curriculum Project.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Cooperative Research Program.
PUB DATE	65
CONTRACT	H-128/OE-4-10-204
NOTE	130p.; For related documents, see SO 011 790, SO 011 795
AVAILABLE FROM	Anthropology Curriculum Project, 107 Dudley Hall, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia 30602 (Prices are available through project)
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Acculturation; *Anthropology; Comparative Analysis; *Concept Teaching; Cultural Environment; *Cultural Factors; Cultural Traits; *Culture; Definitions; Educational Objectives; Elementary Education; Grade 4; Instructional Materials; Learning Activities; Social Studies; *Social Studies Units; Vocabulary Development
IDENTIFIERS	Anthropology Curriculum Project

ABSTRACT

This social studies unit includes teacher background material, a student text, study guide, and composite pretest/posttest explaining and discussing cultural concepts. It is part of the Anthropology Curriculum Project and is designed to be used in grade 4. The unit objective is to provide students with a background for understanding man and his culture. Subject material is divided into five sections: an explanation of anthropological terms and components, cultural universals and variation, enculturation, and cultural dynamics. The teacher background materials discuss the subjects in detail, emphasizing enculturation, cultural variation, and cultural dynamics. The 54-page pupil text clarifies these subjects by using examples from the Arunta, Kazak, and American way of life. The pupil's study guide introduces each subject, lists key words and ideas, suggests activities, encourages independent thinking by asking questions not answered in the text, and offers review questions. A 14-page glossary defining words underlined in the text concludes the guide. The composite pretest/posttest consists of 50 multiple-choice questions, plus 10 optional questions on cultural dynamics. (CK)

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CONCEPT OF CULTURE

Teacher's Background Material: Enculturation,
Cultural Variation, Culture Dynamcis.
Grade 4

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
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March 1965

Publication No. 13, 14 and 15
Anthropology Curriculum Project
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

SO 011 797

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To be used in connection with "A Sequential Curriculum in Anthropology for Grades 1-7."

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The Curriculum development reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, under the provision of the Cooperative Research Program (Contract H-128/OE 4-10-204).

ENCULTURATION

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ENCULTURATION

Introduction

Culture is the way of life of a group of individuals, and as peoples differ from one another, so do their cultures. Let us examine the following questions: How does an individual learn his particular culture? What are the processes involved? Who is affected by these processes?

How does an individual learn his particular culture? We all know that we, as human beings, are different from all other living things on the earth. We know, for example, that cats, dogs, and all other animals not only look different, but they also act differently than we. Most animals are born with a set pattern of behavior which largely determines their actions. For example, squirrels gather nuts and store them, but squirrels do not decide that on a specific day they will gather nuts to store. Only man can decide to do something. Squirrels gather nuts because they were born with the nut gathering impulse. This pattern of behavior is called an instinct. Unlike other animals, man is not equipped at birth with the necessary patterns of behavior which would allow him to live. Man must be given special care at birth and in the early years of his life. He must learn the culture in which he lives. It is this learning experience which makes man different from other animals. By this experience, initially and in later life, a person becomes competent in his culture.

The process by which an individual learns his culture is called enculturation, and this process is universal. If a person did not learn the adaptations that the process of enculturation describes, he could not function as a member of his society.

In the early years of a person's life, enculturation involves learning culture fundamentals. Let us cite a few examples. We all know how to eat, how to speak, and when to sleep. We also have values toward personal cleanliness. If we examine these "habits" of ours, we see that we learned how and when to accomplish them. These habits were not present when we were born. They were learned by us and are necessary, in that our knowledge of them permits us to function in our society.

Let us pause for a moment and look around us. We see that our associates are all wearing clothes similar to ours. For example, all wear shoes, although women wear different kinds of shoes than men. We know that gentlemen allow ladies to go before them when entering a room. We have learned these and other ways of acting and behaving, and we do some things so often that we do not have to think about them before doing them. We are thus going through the process of enculturation, for we are learning the forms of conduct that are acceptable in our society.

During our early life, we learn the basic and fundamental parts of our culture. We learn how to speak, how to read, and how to write; we learn how to be polite to friends and any other peoples that we meet; and we learn the right and wrong ways of doing things.

As we mature, these essentials that we have learned about our culture become routine--a part of our daily life. We learn so well the ways of behaving that are acceptable that we do not have to stop and think about them in the course of daily life. The adult can make daily decisions by applying the knowledge he has learned through enculturation.

Who is affected by these processes? Everyone! As we have seen, the process of enculturation is not simple, and no person can learn his entire culture. We are born into a group whose customs and beliefs are already established. As a child, we learn these customs and beliefs, and, as we mature, they become so familiar to us that our behavior becomes natural when we meet with varying situations. Thus, we see that in order to live in a culture, everyone must go through a process of enculturation and this process never stops!

Let us now look more closely at the term enculturation. We have already noted that human beings are born without a knowledte of their culture, and that each new generation must learn those techniques, attitudes, and patterns of behaving which their culture prescribes. We have also noted that all people do not belong to one general culture, but that as peoples differ from one another, so do their cultures. A person born into the Arunta culture will necessarily learn different things from a person born in the American culture. We can state, therefore, that every culture tends to organize the behavior of its people toward the universe which its particular culture determines. Every culture also tends to exclude those features which are foreign to its universe. A Kazak youth is taught how to build a yurt, and is not encouraged to learn the principles behind "sky-scraper" technology. Thus, in studying different cultures, one must necessarily know for each culture what the subject matter enculturation includes and excludes.

The process of enculturation occurs in all cultures, for people are not born with a natural learning impulse. However, there are certain features of this "educating" process which all cultures utilize in training their young.

Methods of Enculturation

All cultures communicate information. In this section we shall consider two aspects of the training process: what information is communicated, and how is this communication accomplished. The information that is communicated varies from culture to culture. We do not propose to compile a listing of all the items that an individual might learn, for this depends on the particular culture into which he is born. However, all cultures, at some time in their educational process, focus on some aspect of the environment, technology, mythology, and on cultural values. Let us consider the environment. While a knowledge of the fauna, flora, and weather conditions would not be of major importance to city children in American culture, this would have direct relevance to survival in a pre-industrial culture.

All cultures utilize certain techniques for communicating cultural information to their young. Adults in all cultures recognize that children do not spontaneously learn about their particular culture. Watch parents in our culture with babies. They spend many hours talking to them and are very happy when they take their first step and do other things for the first time. All cultures have developed certain techniques to urge their young to learn and have certain situations in which learning takes place. Let us consider some of the ways in which children learn their culture. We will do this by looking at Arunta, Kazak, and American cultures.

Play is not just an idle time filler. It can be an important process for learning the culture and developing needed skills. For example, Arunta boys have toy spears and spear throwers. They use these to hunt small animals. This is actually training for the day when they will go out with their fathers hunting kangaroos and other animals. Girls in American culture play house with their dolls and act out adult roles that they will someday occupy. The boys playing with toy cars, electric trains, chemistry sets, and so on are using toy versions of things that they will use in adult occupations. Boys playing baseball and engaging in other sports are developing their motor skills. In some cases, they may be able to rise rapidly to wealth and fame by becoming professionals. As professional stars they become models for the next generation of youngsters.

Helping around the home is a source of training and learning. When the Arunta do, on occasions, build a hut, everyone in the family helps. The women and children gather sticks and grass. The father builds the framework with the sticks and thatches it with grass. Thus, the children helping their parents learn to build the houses they will someday build for the families they establish. Among the Kazak there is a similar procedure. When the camp must move, the children help their parents take down the yurt and load the component parts on the horses. Upon arrival at the new campsite, the process is reversed and the yurt set up. In this way Kazak children learn house building.

Arunta women carry children with them as they hunt for food. As they grow older, the girls help their mothers dig roots and gather other foods. The boys, as previously mentioned, will have toy weapons to learn hunting. As they grow older, they hunt independently for grubs, honey, and other things.

Kazak boys herd the sheep, driving them away from the camp in the morning and herding them back at midday and in the evening for the women to milk. In this way they learn to tend animals while close to the camp and under the watchful eyes of adults. Eventually they will take their places as men riding horses. Boys in wealthier families receive their first horse at from 5 to 7 years. This event is accompanied by a ceremony which marks a step out of a carefree childhood toward being a man. The Kazak extended family is a closely knit economic unit working together. In this way the boys learn men's work and girls learn that of women. At marriage the young man continues to live with his parents, and his bride comes to help. Thus, they are still in a position for continued instruction from their parents.

American children learn around the home. It may be helping with the dishes or cleaning the house. Older children help care for younger brothers and sisters. Baby-sitting is more than a way for girls to earn money. It can be an important part of learning skills in child care that they will eventually utilize as parents. Farm boys help with the chores, and at an early age work in the fields and learn to drive tractors. By the time they are adults, they have acquired the basic farming skills. Because of the separation of home and work in modern American culture, most boys must learn their occupational skills outside the home. As a result, not nearly as many boys follow the occupations of their fathers as once was the case. The apprenticeship system was a formalized method for boys to learn by being assigned to adults. Although this method is not as important as it once was, there are now a variety of on-the-job training programs and, in high schools, there are programs through which students have actual experience in businesses around town.

Imitation is recognized as a source of learning. Arunta children will learn much about their culture at night around the campfires listening to adults discuss problems and plan their activities. We recognize this factor in American culture. Children frequently adopt heroes they would like to copy. They may be reminded to pick astheir idols adults that exemplify the approved social values.

The stories and myths of the culture are important in transmitting the cultural values and basic beliefs of the culture. The Arunta myths not only illustrate the moral values but offer explanations of the mysteries of the world in which they live. Among the Kazak one of the basic means used to acquaint youth with various models is through oral literature that shows ideal types as well as what happens to bad types. In American culture, there are many books of written stories that are collections of older oral folk tales. Children's books are used to present major American values. In some communities citizen groups have complained that the reading and literature books no longer contain stories illustrating traditional values.

Americans place a major dependence on formal education through a system of schools. In a modern industrial culture, the total body of knowledge is astronomical, and the skills needed for the various occupations are both varied and complex. As a result, there is need of specialists in developing and dispensing knowledge. Although formal education is associated with modern cultures, it is not entirely lacking at other levels of culture.

Arunta children go through an initiation ceremony at puberty. During this ceremony they receive instruction in the mythology and the customs of the group. Boys prove their courage and their manhood by submitting to various ordeals. Thus, they have a brief but important period of formal schooling.

The Kazak have a system of formal education that is more complex than that of the Arunta and is suggestive of the American system of schools. The teacher is the _mullah_, the itinerate religious leader and teacher who, in addition, reads the Koran, interprets canon law, and officiates at various ceremonies. At the age of seven the boys go through an ordeal conducted by the mullah that is somewhat similar to that of the Arunta. Afterwards, the boys help their father with the herds and other duties around the camp.

In addition, the mullah conducts classes for boys and girls in one of the yurts. He instructs them in the alphabet so that the children learn to read both Kazak and Arabic. Much of the training is in the form of recitation of verses from the Koran. More advanced instruction is from texts on Islamic traditions and in Arabic grammar. Most students attend only one or two years as their assistance is needed for tending the flocks. Thus, after a short period in one camp, the Mullah moves on.

Finally, people everywhere seem to be concerned about the future of their children. The Arunta believe that a totem is responsible for the conception of a child. When a woman becomes expectant with child, the old men of the group, who serve as leaders by virtue of their experience, meet and decide to which of several totemic groups the child will belong. Later, at puberty, the boy will be instructed in the mythology and ritual of the totem.

The Kazak have a carry-over from aboriginal beliefs. He is a diviner-healer. A common application of his skill is to predict the future of a newborn son by reading the cracks made in a sheep's shoulder blade when it is held over a fire. This is scapulamancy and analogous to palmistry. In American schools faith is placed in a variety of tests that are supposed to indicate the student's aptitude for various skills and to predict his future success.

Conclusion

In conclusion, all cultures have people assigned the task of educating the young. There is a definite relationship between the amount of knowledge to be learned in a culture and the degree in educator specialization. The American educational system places the burden on trained teachers. This is not to say that the family, peer, play, and other groups are not instrumental in the enculturation process. Pre-industrial cultures depend more upon the family or kinship group for training. However, there are basic similarities between most cultures.

Some things are taught to some people and not to others. Almost all cultures apportion various parts of their contents among their members. The reason is simple. When children become adults, they will be responsible for different things in their culture. Let us consider here the division of labor by sex as one aspect of apportioned cultural elements. In America, boys are taught those skills necessary for them to provide for their own families in their adult lives. Some are trained to be teachers, engineers, pilots, others truck drivers or train conductors. On the other hand, girls learn those techniques associated with domestic affairs, although some do train for the same vocations as men. Whereas American culture allows for some non-gender occupations, most primitive cultures do not. Cultures differ in their views of the nature of males and females and the duties that they should perform. Kazak boys learn herding while the girls learn to milk the animals and to convert the milk into cheese and butter. Among the Arunta, women may participate in many of the ceremonies, but they are forbidden to make any of the ritual or ceremonial paraphernalia.

The division of labor is not the only aspect of culture that is apportioned among members of a culture, for the educational process provides for apportionment based on age, social class, and other categories of persons. An understanding of how each culture accomplishes this is possible only through a detailed knowledge of each specific cultural universe. However, it is not hard for us to understand that the pivotal problems for all cultures are met with corresponding instruction in the education of all.

All cultures recognize that the ability of a child to learn different things varies with his age. For the most part, what a child is taught depends upon what there is to learn, the cultural attitude toward children, the maturity of the child, and the specific goals of the culture.

CULTURAL VARIATION

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CULTURAL VARIATION

The Universal Nature of Culture

Look around the world and you will find people living in many different geographic environments with many different ways of living. Examination of the great variety of cultures leads to the conclusion that culture is universal in man's experience yet each local manifestation is unique. It is our task to examine this statement.

Culture is universal in man's experience from several points of view. First, all people, wherever they have been found and as far back in the past as men can be identified, have had a culture. It is the possession of culture that distinguishes man from other animals. The exact abilities that enable man to develop culture are not clear. They are bound up in man's physical characteristics. He stands upright and has free flexible hands that can handle tools. His brain is, with only a few exceptions, the largest of all animals.

Man's brain is organized in such a way that he is able to engage in abstract or symbolic thinking. Man can think in terms of tools, plan ahead, and develop an elaborate system of communication. This system of communication is language. The vital link between language and culture is in the transmission of culture. Culture is learned. The human infant requires years of care by adults before he can take care of himself. It is during this period of infancy that the basic enculturation occurs. Much of this training takes place through the medium of language.

The second aspect of the universal nature of culture is in the fact that not only do all people have a culture but these cultures contain certain universals. Many attempts have been made to enumerate the universals in culture. One such list furnishes the following seventy-two traits, listed alphabetically:

> Age grading, athletic sports, bodily adornment, calendar, cleanliness training, community organization, cooking, cooperative labor, cosmology, courtship, dancing, decorative art, divination, division of labor, dream interpretation, education, eschatology, ethics, ethnobotany, etiquette, faith healing, family, feasting, fire making, folklore, food taboos, funeral rites, games, gestures, gift giving, government, greetings, hair styles, hospitality, housing, hygiene, incest taboos, inheritance rules, joking, kin-groups, kinship nomenclature, language, law, luck superstitions, magic, marriage, mealtimes, medicine, modesty concerning natural functions, mourning, music, mythology, numerals, obstetrics, penal sanctions, personal names, population policy, postnatal care, pregnancy usages, property rights, propitiation of supernatural beings, puberty customs, religious ritual, residence rules, sexual restrictions, soul concepts, status differentiation, surgery, tool making, trade, visiting, weaning, and weather control.

Examination of the universals of culture shows that, for purposes of study, it is possible to group the individual traits under three major problems that all cultures must solve. First, man must relate himself to his natural environment in order to obtain the necessities of life. These activities are grouped into what is called economics. Second, people always live in groups. All cultures contain ways for getting along with other people. This is the basis of social organization. Third, all people recognize forces outside those of nature and natural man. This leads to beliefs concerning the supernatural that are grouped in religion and belief systems.

These universals grow out of certain biological requirements of man. Man is a mammal and is land-living. He is essentially a tropical animal and must maintain his body warmth. In order to maintain himself, he must breathe air, eat, drink, and procreate. Although ways of meeting these needs can be grouped into the three basic categories enumerated above, each culture develops its own means for solving the basic problems of life. Because of this each culture is unique. It is unique because the details are different.

Let us now take a look at some variations in culture that are found in various parts of the world. For this purpose three cultures will be used. The first is the Arunta, a hunting and gathering people from central Australia. The second is the Kazak, a group of herders in central Asia. The third is our own tribe, the Americans, that focuses on an industrial economy supported by a very efficient agriculture. Three aspects of culture will be considered. Economics will be looked at from the standpoint of housing, technology, and earning a living. Social organization will be examined from the standpoint of the household or family and community. The final section will briefly touch on religion.

Economics

Economics consists of the human activities centering on problems of survival in the physical world. Man must obtain from the natural environment the physical necessities of life. In order to do this, all societies utilize the basic factors of production: land, labor, know-how, and tools. In other words, all societies are distributed in space in some form of social organization in such a way as to utilize land and technology to obtain food and to produce needed goods. All people are involved in economic activities that go beyond bare needs.

Houses. Houses serve many functions. They protect people from the elements such as cold, heat, rain, and snow. They serve as a basepoint for living and the form of the house may be related to social position. These needs are met in a multitude of house types.

The Arunta live in the desert of central Australia where the summers are hot, the winters mild, and the nights often seem cold. Because they are hunters and gatherers, they move frequently and rarely stay long in one place.

As a result, the Arunta only occasionally build a shelter which we would consider a house. This is a dome-shaped structure made by using grass to thatch a framework of sticks. Everyone in the household, including children, works when a new hut is built. The mother and children gather sticks and grass. The father makes a framework out of sticks and thatches it with grass. This simple house is only used during rainy periods. The Arunta seldom stay in one place long enough to build such a house. Most of the time the people sleep out-of-doors, protected from the wind by a simple lean-to of shrubs and brush. A small fire burns all night to protect them from the cold. Often on cold nights they sleep huddled so close to the fire that they are burned by the hot embers.

The Kazak must move from place to place with their animals. The country is much colder than in Australia so it is necessary to have protection from the weather. They developed a house that they can move from place to place. It is called a yurt. The yurt is a kind of a round tent about twenty feet across, with walls four to five feet high. The walls are made of a circular lattice of sticks tied together. Other sticks extend from the wall to a hoop of wood at the center. This forms an umbrella-like roof. The walls and roof are covered with large pieces of felt. It is very thick and keeps the interior warm and dry. In cold weather a fire is built on the ground in the center for cooking and warmth. A small circular hole in the center of the roof lets the smoke out. It can be closed to keep heat in or to keep out rain and snow.

When the Kazak are ready to move, the felt is taken off the tent, rolled up, and placed on a horse. The sticks from the roof and the lattice wall are bundled together and placed on a horse. When a new campsite is reached, the men unload the horses and the women and children put up the tent.

Where the Kazak spend the winter in the same place every year, they find it practical to build small permanent houses. These have walls of blocks of turf and, occasionally, stone. Timbers span the walls and are covered with sticks and turf to form the roof. The floor is dug out below the ground level. Turf houses are very warm, because the thick walls form good insulation against the cold.

Most Americans live in permanently built homes. The style of these houses has changed over time and varies from one part of the country to another. In the rural areas and in suburbs there are individual homes containing several rooms. They can be heated in the winter and even air conditioned in the summer. In the cities houses may be built wall to wall to form row houses. Many families may live in apartments in a single building. High rise apartments are becoming more numerous.

Material culture. Besides houses, the material objects in a culture include tools, equipment, household furnishings, clothing, etc. These items or artifacts are related to the economy. They are both the equipment needed by the technology and the finished products. The material culture of the Arunta is very meager and limited to a relatively few items. They have only the bare minimum needed in the struggle for survival. One important device is the spear thrower. It gives added leverage to the arm in throwing the spear. It has a stone point on the end for use as a chisel to make other tools. Fire is produced by rubbing the spear thrower's edge against a small wooden shield.

In walking from one place to another the man normally carries from twenty to twenty-five pounds of belongings--one or more spears, a spear thrower, a wooden shield, one or more boomerangs or throwing clubs, a stone ax, and a small pouch containing a few objects tied to a belt braided from human hair. Women carry a pointed digging stick, a shallow wooden bowl, and a net bag in which food and other small articles may be carried. Because they do not build real houses, household furnishings are practically absent.

Although the Kazak might be considered poor compared to Americans, their material culture is much more elaborate than that of the Australians. Kazak technology is based on herding animals. What they make is made from animal products. They trade animals and their products for items such as pots, pans, knives, rifles, needles, thread, and cloth. One of their important products is felt. Felt is really not cloth. It is not woven but is made by matting together layers of wool. The houses are furnished by covering the ground with felt rugs and leather or wooden boxes for storing grain, sugar, or tea, and leather bags containing cheese, butter, and milk.

American material culture is the most elaborate in the world. Our advanced technology requires many elaborate tools and factories for producing a great variety of goods. It is necessary to distinguish between capital and consumer goods. Capital goods are those things that are used in production while consumer goods are those things we use up in living. The American home is characterized by variety and quantity of furnishings.

Clothing serves to protect the body, for decoration, and to meet standards of modesty. The Arunta normally wear so little clothing that we would consider them naked. Decoration is achieved by painting the body. The Kazak make warm clothing to protect them from the cold. Men and women wear long padded woolen coats reaching below the knees. The women wear dresses when it is warm, but when the weather is cold, both men and women wear thick wool pants they tuck into boots reaching to their knees.

American clothing is characterized by its different forms for boys and girls, and men and women. Great attention is paid to the latest styles that are both protective and decorative. Most of it is purchased ready made.

Earning a living. The Arunta household is an almost complete economic unit. It not only manufactures its own tools but produces and consumes its own food. Men, women, and children spend much of their time searching for food. Women use their digging sticks to search for roots and burrowing animals. Men hunt for larger animals and are very skilled at approaching and spearing kangaroos with great stealth. Boys and girls help their parents or search for witchetty grubs, honey ants, or nests of honey bees.

The Kazak are pastoral nomads depending on herds of domestic animals for food and materials out of which to make clothing and tents. Most of the things the Kazak need are obtained from their herds, and their entire lives are centered around caring for these animals. What the animals do not provide they obtain through trade from other people.

Sheep make up the greater part of the Kazak's livestock. Thousands of them are herded by the boys. The men care for the horses. They also have some cows, camels, and, in cold mountains, yaks. Their most important foods are obtained by milking sheep, goats, and even horses. The women do the milking and convert it into milk products such as butter and cheese. A unique food is kumiss made from fermented mares' milk.

Probably the most important aspect of Kazak livelihood is the seasonal migration with the herds. They winter in protected river valleys or in the southern edge of the Siberian forests. As the warm summer weather dries up the grass, they move often searching for feed and water. In the fall they return to the protected winter campsites. Each year they repeat this cycle.

Making a living in America is characterized by a number of features. First, there is a great division of labor. Men and women work at highly specialized activities. As a result, there are thousands of different kinds of jobs. Secondly, Americans are engaged in production for trade. The individual uses for himself very little of what he produces. Instead, he is paid a wage or salary for his work and uses it to buy what he needs. Third, there is a separation of home and work. Most of the economic activities are carried on away from the home. Fourth, less than ten per cent of the workers are engaged in farming or the basic production of food and other agricultural products. The overwhelming majority of workers are producing goods or furnishing services. Few families produce any of their food. Food is purchased in the store after it has been canned, frozen, and partially prepared.

In comparing the three cultures discussed there is a progression. The Arunta spend most of their time obtaining food and have a very simple tool kit. The household is an almost complete economic unit. The Kazak have a more extensive body of tools and equipment. They produce a surplus from their herds that can be used to trade for items they do not produce. The American family consumes almost nothing of what it produces. A great variety of occupations are carried on outside the home, and the wages and salaries purchase an amazing catalog of goods.

Social Organization

All people live in groups. It is groups of people that make up society. Every culture has a series of rules to govern the activities of people. The smallest unit of society is the family or household. These are not necessarily the same. The family consists of parents and their children, while a household consists of the people living in one dwelling unit. In societies where it is permissable for a man to have more than one wife at a time, the wives may live in separate houses. In this case the family is made up of several households. A single household may contain a family plus various relatives or non-relatives. In this case the household is larger than the family.

The family has several functions. First, it serves to perpetuate the group. Children are born in a family and are raised by the family. The family protects its members and is usually an economic unit. Second, the family serves to perpetuate the culture. A most important phase of this activity is the training or enculturation of children.

Because of the limited resources in the Arunta environment, the household is the largest group which can live together for an extended time. It consists of a single nuclear family, i. e., a man, his wife, and children. One or more other persons may be included. It is the Arunta household that works together to both produce and consume its food, thus forming a complete economic unit. Arunta rules of etiquette are based on kinship or relationships. All relatives are grouped into classes based on generations within the kinship system. A man must marry a woman outside his class.

The Kazak household is an extended family. It consists of the primary father, called the Old Father, and his wife, unmarried sons and daughters, married sons and their wives, grandchildren, servants, and the children of servants. When a child is born to a son and his wife, they do not set up a new household but continue to live in the tent of his father. The Kazak household is organized on patrilineal lines and it is the Old Father who owns the sheep and horses of the household. He makes the important decisions, such as when the household should move for summer pasturage and when to move into the winter encampment, and directs the work of his sons and their children. In this close knit group, the boys learn men's work from their fathers; the girls, from their mothers. Marriage involves a bride price, which is paid for the sons by the Old Father. When a girl marries, she moves to her husband's family tent. Her tasks will be assumed by her brothers' brides.

The American family is typically a nuclear family consisting of mother and father with two or three children. Today only occasionally are there other people in the household. Almost all economic activity is outside the home. The economic necessities are purchased with the earnings of the employed members. Many functions associated with the Arunta and Kazak families have been partially moved outside the American family. For example, most of the extensive enculturation is carried out by a formal institution, schools.

Individual families are linked together into larger groups occupying a particular territory and having a common way of doing things. We often call such local groups communities. Every society has such groups. Arunta households are combined into such local groups located in a specific territory and bound together by the kinship system. The local group is autonomous and there is nothing in the Arunta social organization comparable to our federal government. They have no organization at the tribal level. The Arunta tribe is actually nothing more than a number of individual local groups which have a language, customs, rites, and beliefs in common, and live together in a specific section of Australia.

The Arunta have been described as nomadic because they wander from place to place without any single permanent home. However, they do not wander aimlessly over an unlimited territory. They follow a clearly defined cycle in their wanderings. They return again and again to the same camping areas. Each local group has a specific territory over which its individual households wander. The territory is so well defined that an outsider is not allowed to enter without permission. This territory is important in its religious significance for its inhabitants. It is believed to be the residence of mythological ancestors.

The thread that organized Arunta society is the kinship system. There is a strong feeling of relationship between the men in each family. A man asked to name his ancestors will begin with his father, his father's father, and continue in this manner. He will tend to ignore his mother and her relations because he does not feel related to them. He does, however, feel a close relationship to the sisters of his male kinsmen. These would be his aunts, sisters, daughters, and so on. A descent system such as this, traced through only one parent, is said to be unilineal. When this is done through the father's line it is called patrilineal. The men must marry outside their own family line. The kinship system is used to establish relations between two Arunta wherever they meet. The common greeting that quickly establishes the proper relationship between two individuals who may never have met before is "Who was your father's father?"

The Kazak households are linked together by a kinship or lineage system which claims descent from a common male ancestor. These lineages are called clans. Each clan has its own winter camp and grazing area that form the base from which they migrate over summer pastures. Each clan has its own identifying mark which is branded on the animals and on all belongings. Although they may wander as individual households, they return to a common winter camp and will assist each other in time of trouble.

The clan chief is the patriarch or head of the largest and richest household in the clan. He serves as clan spokesman in dealing with other clans. The authority of the clan chief is based on the consensus of heads of households and he does not have direct authority over household heads.

The largest unit in Kazak social organization with an appointed leader is the tribe. The tribe is an extended lineage group comprised of related clans. The chief of the tribe is selected by the chiefs of clans which comprise the tribe. He is usually the chief of the largest and wealthiest clan. The authority of the tribal chief is exercised on the basis of persuasion, personal leadership, and consensus. The clans of a tribe rarely come together, except after the spring rains when grass is sufficiently abundant to support many herds in a small area at a given time.

American social groups differ from both the Arunta and the Kazak in several respects. First, kinship is of only limited importance. At marriage each couple sets up its own household, often some distance from their parents. Secondly, American social organization is based upon many formally organized groups. These are various clubs, associations, and so on. The authority for control is found in special formally organized institutions we call government. Governmental units are found in local areas and are linked together in a series of steps from towns or cities, through counties and states to the federal government. Third, although many locality groups are scattered rural neighborhoods and small towns, the trend is toward large cities and urban areas containing millions of people.

Each local community is unique but at the same time is tied to the whole nation of communities through a complex series of relationships. Take a look at your own to see how it is both distinctively different but also has much in common with other communities.

Religion

All societies have some kind of religious systems. The Arunta are no exception. Their religion is based on the concept of totemism. The totem is an animal, plant, or object associated with a particular group, whose members feel that they are descended from it. An Arunta becomes a member of a totemic group before he is born. The totem is believed to be responsible for his conception. The old men in the local group meet and decide what the child's name will be and to which totemic group he will belong. When an individual dies, his spirit is believed to remain in the territory of a local group near his totemic ancestor.

Each totemic group has stories or myths which are believed to explain its origin and history. They explain the unknown and give a sense of control over the unknown. Every year the members of each totemic group must perform certain rituals as a part of their obligation to their totem. Since each of these totems is a plant or animal which is usually a source of food, the rituals give the Arunta confidence that the food supply will be plentiful.

At puberty all children receive special instruction in the myths of their particular totem and go through initiation ceremonies. In addition to receiving instruction, boys must prove their courage by submitting to various ordeals. Once the individual has completed his initiation, he is no longer a child but an adult and is given the privileges and responsibilities of this position.

The Kazak are Muslims or adherents to the faith called Islam. Islam does not emphasize communal worship. Worship consists of recitation of prayers in the direction of Mecca, the holy city, and reading the Koran. There are five daily prayers which each adult Muslim recites individually. The five major tenets of Islam are prayer, fasting in the month of Ramadan, the pilgrimage to Mecca, participating in religious wars, and the performance of good works. The Kazak are fairly lax in their observances. They do, however, always say a short prayer before killing an animal for food or before eating a meal.

Two religious practitioners are encountered among the Kazak. The first is an itinerant mullah or religious teacher who reads the Koran, interprets the canon law, and officiates at feasts and ceremonies such as marriage. The mullah is not a priest but is more like a combination lay preacher and lawyer. The second type of religious practitioner is a diviner and healer who is believed to have supernatural powers to foretell the future and cure sickness. He represents a carryover from the Kazak's beliefs before they became converted to Islam.

American religion is very complex. There are several features that make it different from the religions of tribal groups. Although the vast majority claim religious affiliation, there is no one religion to which everyone belongs. There are over 250 religious denominations plus several thousand independent congregations or churches. Membership in a particular church tends to have a relationship to social position in the community.

The basic tenets of American religion come from the Judaic-Christian tradition. These beliefs influence all phases of life. There has developed an accommodation of three major religious groups, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish.

Summary

In summary let us return to the original statement that culture is universal in man's experience yet each manifestation is unique. All people live in groups and all groups have a culture. Each culture contains the same basic elements--economics, social organization, and religion. However, the details of each culture vary from culture to culture. Thus, it can be said that all people do the same things but in different ways.

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CULTURE DYNAMICS

Culture is Dynamic

Change is characteristic of culture. It has occurred, and is occurring in every known culture. As Americans, we have come to expect it, and would be surprised if the shape of automobiles and the length of women's skirts did not change from year to year. More consequential changes, such as those which have taken place in the field of communication during the past fifty years, are also obvious. Along with changes in material culture have come changes in our basic attitudes and beliefs. Teachers, for instance, are particularly aware of our changing attitudes toward education. Change is one of the most obvious things in American culture.

However, change is not as obvious in all cultures as it is in ours. In many cultures, especially the simpler ones, changes take place so slowly that these cultures are often described as static. Such has been the case with the Arunta. Although it has occurred slowly, change has taken place in this culture. Recent studies indicate that the Arunta have not always used the boomerang; instead, this trait has been adopted in relatively recent times as a result of contact with other Australian Aborigines. Its introduction represented no less a culture change than did the introduction of television into American culture. We could continue indefinitely, but the point to be made is that while change takes place in all cultures, the amount of change and the speed at which it takes place varies greatly from culture to culture.

Not All Peoples Recognize Change

Not only does the rate and amount of change itself vary from culture to culture, but the degree to which change is recognized by the members of these cultures also varies. Although it is difficult for us to realize, some groups do not recognize change at all. A good example of this can be found in our own Western European culture. With the aid of any art history text, examine the paintings which were produced in Western Europe between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries. You may be surprised to discover that the characters, regardless of when they actually lived, are clothed in the medieval or Renaissance manner. A very clear illustration of this can be found in the painting by Piero della Francesca entitled Visit of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon. Without the aid of the title we would have no way of knowing that this was supposed to be a biblical scene. Near the beginning of the Sixteenth Century, however, a remarkable change took place. Subjects were depicted in clothing and surroundings which corresponded to the period in which they actually lived. It is as if overnight the artists realized that change had actually taken place.

Possibly this realization came as a result of the tremendous changes which were taking place in Europe during that period. Along with changes in technology and established beliefs came the discovery of foreign lands containing strange new peoples. Some people trace the beginning of the science of anthropology to this period, saying that it grew out of the need for an understanding of these newly discovered peoples as well as the newly discovered concept of change. Indeed, until the beginning of the twentieth century, these were the problems which occupied the minds of most anthropologists. These men developed a theory of change which is known today as unilinear evolution.

Very few persons would deny that certain parts of culture, such as technology, are cumulative; that is, modern complex technology has developed from simpler forms. In this sense it might be said that technology evolved. But the eighteenth and nineteenth century evolutionists went a step further; they said that there were definite stages through which every culture must pass as it evolves. These stages represented not only a particular level of technology, but a particular type of social organization and religion as well. Thus, any culture which has the same technology as the Kazak, for example, would also have the same type of social organization and religion.

These evolutionary views of change are accepted by few modern anthropologists. Research has shown that particular types of technology cannot be associated with particular types of social organization and religion, without also considering such factors as the amount of culture contact, and the type of natural environment. Unilinear evolution, in short, is much too simple an explanation for such a complicated subject as culture change.

Culture is Stable

Culture is stable; yet, it is dynamic. This statement, paradoxical as it is, represents the starting point from which many modern anthropologists explain culture change. Let us see how such an explanation develops.

We have seen that culture does change; but, culture must also have a certain amount of stability. Without this stability, we would be totally unable to understand or predict our own or another person's activities. Culture stability, then, is necessary for predictability.

That which is predictable in culture takes the form of routine activity. All of us are aware of the almost changeless chain of events which we follow each day. We arise, dress, eat, and leave for work, where we perform basically the same tasks day after day. In the evening we return home, eat, watch a television program, and then go to bed. A large portion of our lives is spent in performing routine activities such as these. Since they occur with remarkable regularity, it is not difficult to think of these day to day routines as activity or event cycles.

However, daily cycles are only one of many types of activity or event cycles which can be found in any culture. Persons whose work contains some seasonal variation such as farmers, or even teachers, may think in terms of yearly cycles. On a larger scale, it is even possible to think of the entire life of an individual as a cycle. We are all aware of the various events which mark the individual's progress as he moves from birth to death. In this sense, then, we might think of a culture as consisting of hundreds of individual life cycles. Even less tangible forms of culture, such as thought processes, can be viewed as cyclical. That which we call logical thought is in reality a definite series of mental activities which are repeated again and again. It is through recurring events, then, that culture gains its stability, and hence its predictability.

How Change Takes Place

While it is possible to think of all cultural activity in terms of event cycles, we are well aware of the variations which take place each time we perform these activities. Each day, for instance, there are variations in those activities which make up the daily event cycle. These variations may be radical or they may be minute, but in either case they can produce substantial changes in the cycle itself over a period of time.

It is precisely in this manner that many anthropologists explain culture change. Figure 1 is the type of diagram used to illustrate this change.

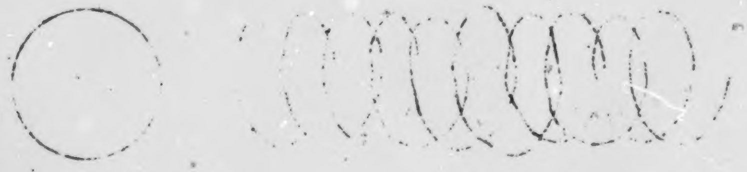

Figure 1. Cyclical Change

In this figure a single circle is used to represent one complete activity cycle. Because there are variations in the event cycles themselves, the individual circles do not completely overlap. The resulting diagram, then, is not a single circle which is traced over and over many times, but a series of circles connected in the form of a spiral.

This way of looking at culture change is, of course, theoretical. It is a generalization based on the observation of change in many cultures. As with any other theory, its value lies in its usefulness. A theory is useful if it provides a meaningful way of examining new material and allows a certain amount of prediction to be made about the unknown.

Viewing change as variations of event cycles allows us to concentrate on those things which have actually produced these variations. If culture is the total way of life of a group, and if this way of life is divided into a number of basic units called traits, then any change or variation in a particular culture can only result from the introduction of a new trait or the deletion of an old one. Since a culture seldom casts off a trait without the introduction of a new trait to replace it, we can concern ourselves primarily with the introduction of new traits as the cause of culture change.

Anthropologists refer to the process by which new traits are introduced into a culture as innovation. By viewing innovation as the cause of variation in event cycles, we have a meaningful way of studying culture change. We can study the new traits to see where they originated, how and why they entered the particular culture, and what their results were. We are able to compare innovation in different cultures and gather information which will, to some extent, allow us to make predictions about changes which have not yet taken place.

Bearing in mind that change is a result of variations in event cycles, and that we are considering innovation the cause of these variations, let us examine some of the things which anthropologists have discovered about the introduction of new traits into a culture.

Innovation

We have said that every culture change has its beginnings in the introduction of a new culture trait. We have called the introduction of new traits innovation. Innovation may occur for a number of reasons. These range from a felt need for a particular item, as was the case with the adoption of steel tools by the Arunta, to a general expectation of change throughout the entire culture, as is the case in modern America. In any culture, however, there seems to be an overall resistance to change. Before innovation can take place this resistance must be overcome.

Resistance to change may take many forms. Some of these, such as ethnocentric beliefs produced by the early and thorough learning of one's own culture, are common to all people. Other forms, however, may be more important in one culture than they are in another. The Arunta, for example, would find it difficult to adopt agriculture because of the cost in time and energy involved. The members of this culture must devote most of their time to hunting and gathering merely to provide the food necessary for survival. If they were to adopt agriculture, they would require additional time to spend in cultivation, irrigation, planting, and tending the growing crops before they could realize any benefit from this new technology. Since they are unable to perform these tasks and at the same time supply the food necessary for survival, the innovation of agriculture is unlikely.

The size of the existing inventory of culture traits largely determines the amount of resistance to any given innovation. This is merely another way of saying that innovation is more easily or readily accomplished in larger cultures than it is in smaller ones. If the culture already possesses a large number of traits, the new trait is more likely to be merely a modification of an already existing trait. Modifications are more readily acceptable because they cost less, and also because they are less likely to disturb the existing pattern of the culture. We have seen that the cost of introducing agriculture would be very high for the Arunta. Imagine also, the effects which it would have on their nomadic way of life. On the other hand, a culture which already practices agriculture in some form would have much less difficulty accepting a new agricultural trait: for instance, a new crop such as corn.

Regardless of the amount of resistance a new trait may have, there are only two sources of innovation in any culture. The new traits may develop within the culture itself, or they may enter the culture from outside. If they are developed within the culture, they are the result of either invention or discovery by the members of that culture. If they enter from outside the culture, they are the result of diffusion. Diffusion is the process by which traits move from culture to culture.

Invention and discovery - The distinction between invention and discovery is not always clear and often results in technical arguments. However, these need not bother us since a simple distinction will serve our purposes. Invention may be considered as the intentional development of a new culture trait, while discovery is the accidental development of such a trait. Because the reader is familiar with many examples of both of these processes, such as the discovery of penicillin by Fleming and the invention of the telephone by Bell, further illustration here is needless. We should add, however, that while invention becomes more apparent in scientific cultures, it does not follow that it is absent in non-scientific cultures. Anthropologists have observed both discovery and invention in the most primitive cultures.

Diffusion - The second source of new culture traits is diffusion. Diffusion, as we have seen, is the movement of traits from culture to culture. Man, it would seem, is a relatively uninventive being. While any new trait must obviously have been invented or discovered in some culture, it has been estimated that as many as ninety per cent of the traits found in any particular culture were not developed by the members of that culture; instead, these traits have come from other cultures by the process of diffusion. The movement of traits from culture to culture, then, may actually be considered as a more important source of innovation for a given culture than is invention or discovery by the members themselves.

Even though we are likely to boast of American ingenuity and inventiveness, the following article indicates that we, too, may be less inventive than we like to think.

> Our solid American citizen awakens in a bed built on a pattern which originated in the Near East but which was modified in Northern Europe before it was transmitted to America. He throws back covers made from cotton, domesticated in India, or linen, domesticated in the Near East, or silk, the use of which was discovered in China. All of these materials have been spun and woven by processes invented in the Near East. He slips into his moccasins, invented by the Indians of the Eastern woodlands, and goes to the bathroom whose fixtures are a mixture of European and American inventions, both of recent date. He takes off his pajamas, a garment invented in India, and washes with soap invented by the ancient Gauls. He then shaves, a masochistic rite which seems to have been derived from either Sumer or ancient Egypt.
>
> Returning to the bedroom, he removes his clothes from a chair of southern European type and proceeds to dress. He puts

on garments whose form originally derived from the skin clothing of the nomads of the Asiatic steppes, puts on shoes made from skins tanned by a process invented in ancient Egypt and cut to a pattern derived from the classical civilizations of the Mediterranean, and ties around his neck a strip of bright-colored cloth which is a vestigial survival of the shoulder shawls worn by the seventeenth-century Croatians. Before going out for breakfast he glances through the window, made of glass invented in Egypt, and if it is raining puts on overshoes made of rubber discovered by the Central American Indians and takes an umbrella, invented in southeastern Asia. Upon his head he puts a hat made of felt, a material invented in the Asiatic steppes.

On his way to breakfast he stops to buy a paper, paying for it with coins, an ancient Lydian invention. At the restaurant a whole new series of borrowed elements confronts him. His plate is made from a form of pottery invented in China. His knife is of steel, an alloy first made in southern India, his fork a medieval Italian invention. and his spoon a derivative of a Roman original. He begins breakfast with an orange, from the eastern Mediterranean, a canteloupe from Persia, or perhaps a piece of African watermelon. With this he has coffee, an Abyssinian plant, with cream and sugar. Both the domestications of cows and the idea of milking them originated in the Near East, while sugar was first made in India. After his fruit and first coffee he goes on to waffles, cakes made by a Scandinavian technique from wheat domesticated in Asia Minor. Over these he pours maple syrup, invented by the Indians of the Eastern woodlands. As a side dish he may have the egg of a species of bird domesticated in Indo-China, of thin strips of the flesh of an animal domesticated in Eastern Asia which have been salted and smoked by a process developed in northern Europe.

When our friend has finished eating he settles back to smoke, an American Indian habit, consuming a plant domesticated in Brazil in either a pipe, derived from the Indians of Virginia, or a cigarette, derived from Mexico. If he is hardy enough he may even attempt a cigar, transmitted to us from the Antilles by way of Spain. While smoking he reads the news of the day, imprinted in characters invented by the ancient Semites upon a material invented in China by a process invented in Germany. As he absorbs the accounts of foreign troubles he will, if he is a good conservative citizen, thank a Hebrew deity in an Indo-European language that he is 100 per cent American.*

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*From The Study of Man by Ralph Linton. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1936, pp. 326-327.

From the preceding passage it will be noted that not all of American culture came from Western Europe. A number of important traits had their origin in the central Asiatic steppes where they were first used by people similar to the Kazaks. Felt that we use in making hats and other articles came from this area. Our tailored clothing developed out of their skin clothing. They also domesticated the horse and invented the saddle and stirrups for riding.

Not all diffusion is a simple flow of traits from one culture to another. When a trait is borrowed directly by a culture from the point of origin to the receiving culture, it is called primary diffusion. When the trait is received by a culture several steps away from the point of origin, secondary diffusion has occurred. For example, earlier settlers learned how to plant corn from direct contact with the American Indians. This was primary diffusion. However, American beds are the result of secondary diffusion because they came from the Near East by way of northern Europe.

At times a culture may carefully accept some traits and reject others. This is selective diffusion. The Japanese provide a good example of this. At one point in their history, a cultural mission was sent to China and brought back writing. Now, centuries later, they are borrowing many traits from the United States. Yet, at the same time, they have molded the new ideas to fit their culture and Japan maintains its distinctive character.

Diffusion may also take place in less obvious forms than these. Often a group will adopt the idea of a particular trait instead of the item itself. Cherokee writing is an excellent example of this type of diffusion. When they were first contacted by Europeans, the Cherokee did not have a written language. Soon after contact, and as a result of seeing the written language of the Europeans, they developed their own writing system. In this system, however, the graphic symbols stand for syllables and not discrete sound units as in the European alphabet. Thus, in the case of the Cherokee, only the idea of writing and not the alphabet itself had diffused. This is known as stimulus diffusion.

It is a mistake, however, to think that if the same or similar traits are found in two cultures, one of these cultures had to have received them through diffusion. While this is possible, it is not always true. It is entirely possible that these traits were developed independently in each culture. An example of this is the development of agriculture. Anthropologists have evidence that this trait was probably developed independently in both the Old and New Worlds at about the same time.

Acculturation

Acculturation is the modification which takes place in a culture as a result of contact with another culture. (The reader should be careful not to confuse this term with enculturation which is the process of learning one's own culture.)

Possibly the best way to understand acculturation is to first understand what it is not. Acculturation is not merely the contact of two cultures· it is, instead, the modification which results in either or both of these cultures due to this contact. Acculturation is not the simple flow of individual traits from culture to culture; this is diffusion. While it is possible that traits which have entered a culture by means of diffusion may cause modification, diffusion itself does not refer to this modification.

Culture contact does not necessarily result in change. It is quite possible for two distinct cultures to remain side by side without modification. This is known to anthropologists as symbiosis. Symbiosis, however, is not normal; it is much more likely that some form of change or acculturation will take place when two cultures come into contact.

Probably the most common result of acculturation occurs in the form of a merging of the old and new elements. This merging is known as syncretism and is illustrated by reviewing a culture which we have previously studied--the Kazak.

Traditionally, the patriarchal, extended family was the basic unit of the Kazak social organization. The Kazak clan consisted of several extended families, all members of which considered themselves related through the male line. Because of this relationship, individuals do not marry members of their own clan, but seek mates from other clans. Anthropologists refer to this as clan exogamy.

In the late 1920's the Soviet government forced the Kazak to join agricultural collectives. These collective farms were organized with specific territorial boundaries, and all families living on the farm were to cooperate in raising grain and livestock. Many Kazak clans moved to the collective farm most closely organized on the same territorial base as their traditional grazing land, and each clan attempted to remain together on one farm. However, they were not completely successful because although most of the families on a farm might belong to one clan, the technicians and administrators were often brought in from other areas.

On these farms, the Kazak girl will marry only a boy from another farm, considering all the boys on her farm are related to her. Thus, the traditional clan exogamy has been modified to a collective farm exogamy.

Syncretism, however, is not the only form which the results of acculturation may take. Often the entire culture is reorganized or reinterpreted to make it more compatable with the influencing culture. In many cases the conflicts brought about by this reorganization give rise to what anthropologists refer to as nativistic movements. These are organized movements, sometimes violent, which attempt to maintain certain basic elements of the culture in the face of pressure to change. Since it is the religious system of a culture that embodies these basic elements or values, nativistic movements almost always take the form of religious movements. One of the best known nativistic movements took place among the American Plains Indians during the latter part of the nineteenth century. This movement has become known as the Ghost Dance after one of its central features. The movement itself arose as a result of forceful contact. The buffalo herds on which the Plains Indians were totally dependent had been almost completely exterminated. The Indians themselves had been forced off their land and had been resettled on reservations which were at the best ill-managed.

With this situation the stage was set for the development of a cult which promised the restoration of the buffalo and the removal of the white man. Neither of these took place and the Ghost Dance was eventually stamped out by force. It is significant that these nativistic movements do occur and must be taken into consideration by the anthropologist in trying to predict or explain the results of culture contact.

We should avoid the mistake of attempting to identify the results of culture contact with the form in which the contact took place. We know that while contact may take the form of forceful exploitation, as in the case of war or conquest, or on the other extreme it may take the form of aid, as has been the case with missionary contact. Merely understanding this form, however does not allow us to predict the results.

In its most radical form, acculturation can lead to total disorganization of a culture. We have seen that in the case of the Kazak, change was made as a result of forceful intervention but this did not disorganize the entire culture. On the contrary, the culture itself still exists and still maintains many of its original characteristics. On the other hand, complete cultural disorganization has resulted from the most peaceful forms of culture contact, as in the case of the Yir Yoront.

The Yir Yoront were an Australian Aboriginal group who lived in a manner very similar to that of the Arunta. The first extensive contact the members of this group had with Europeans was with missionaries. This is a form of culture contact which we would certainly expect to be less disruptive than the forceful contact experienced by the Kazak. Yet, within a few years after the settlement of the first missionary station, and resulting primarily from the appearance of these stations, Yir Yoront culture was in a state of complete disorganization.

It is impossible to understand what happened to the Yir Yoront without first knowing something about the culture itself. Possibly the most important thing for us to understand is the system of social control and how it was destroyed by the introduction of European tools, particularly the steel axe.

The system of social control in this culture, was based on a system of subordination and superordination. This is to say that everyone in the culture, with the exception of very old males, was subordinate to someone else in the group. Each of these individuals, in turn, had persons who were subordinate to them. It was through this subordination that social control was possible.

An important factor in maintaining subordination was the use of tools, particularly the stone axe. In the course of his daily activities, every individual had occasion to use the stone axe. However, the axe itself could be manufactured and owned only by adult males. If a woman or child needed to use this tool it was necessary to borrow it. In return for its use, the borrower reciprocated with allegiance to the owner. It is not difficult to see that this eventually resulted in the subordination of everyone to the older males.

One of the first tasks undertaken by the missionaries, who settled near the Yir Yoront, was the distribution of steel tools, particularly steel axes. Although they had only the best of intentions in mind, it was through this simple act of attempting to improve Yir Yoront culture that these missionaries helped to destroy it.

It was not the axes themselves, but the way in which they were introduced that resulted in cultural disorganization. The missionaries, who did not understand the system of subordination, gave these axes indiscriminately to all members of the culture. Because of this, youths and women were no longer obliged to borrow them from older males. In this manner the system of subordination was undermined, and the system of social control all but disappeared. Without this system of authority the culture itself soon fell apart.

It was not the intentions of the missionaries, but their lack of understanding of Yir Yoront culture was at fault in this situation. Of course, had any other European group come into contact with this culture the results would have probably been the same, but this illustration is of even more significance because the task of the missionary is to help and not harm the culture with whom he is in contact. This is a task which could have been more readily accomplished with an understanding of the anthropological facts presented in these pages.

Summary

Culture is stable, yet it is dynamic. Culture seems to be stable to the people living in it because their lives seem to be an endless routine of repeating cycles. However, these cycles are never repeated in exactly the same manner. Over a period of time, these variations will add up to recognizable change. It was not until the sixteenth century that cultural change was fully recognized in Europe.

Culture change takes place through innovation, the introduction of new ideas. Innovation stems from two sources. They can be the result of invention or discovery within the culture or can be diffused from another culture.

When two or more cultures are in contact with each other, one or both may be modified. This is known as acculturation. Acculturation may take place smoothly with little disturbance to the culture, but in some situations has resulted in almost complete disorganization.

The Concept of Culture

Publication No. 16
Anthropology Curriculum Project
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Pupil Text

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To be used in connection with "A Sequential Curriculum in Anthropology for Grades 1-7."

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The curriculum development reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, under the provision of the Cooperative Research Program (Contract H-128/OE 4-10-204).

Getting Ready to Study

You are among students in several fourth grade classes which this year will study anthropology for the first time. You are part of an experimental study to see how well children in Grades 1-7 learn anthropology.

"The Concept of Culture" is the first in a series of new units being developed by the Anthropology Curriculum Project at the University of Georgia. It is not expected that you will learn all about anthropology in one year. Each year additional units will be developed, so that there will be units for Grades 1-7 which can be used in the social studies program.

This fourth grade unit will tell you five major things: (1) how an anthropologist studies cultures; (2) what is meant by culture; (3) how cultures differ; (4) how people acquire their culture; and (5) how cultures change. In learning how an anthropologist explains these five ideas, you will learn how he thinks. As you begin to learn the words he uses, you will begin to learn the science of anthropology.

Anthropology is an exciting study. In studying other people and ourselves, we can see our own selves better. Anthropology has been called a "Mirror for Man."

We hope that you will enjoy being part of this experimental study.

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HOW WE STUDY PEOPLE

If you are a boy, you know you will grow up to be a man. If you are a girl, you will grow up to be a woman. A fourth-grade pupil is a child. You think of your daddy as a man. You think of your mother as a woman. You know you are a child. Did you know that an *anthropologist* calls all people men?

You probably have never seen the word *anthropology* and do not know any *anthropologists*. *Anthropology* is the study of man. An *anthropologist* is someone who studies man scientifically. The word *anthropology* comes from two Greek words: *Anthropos*, or man, and *ology* meaning study of. So *anthropology* means the study of man. An *anthropologist* is a person who studies man.

Human beings, or men, live in many different places. Some live where it is cold and where there are few trees. Others live deep in steaming hot jungles. Some live mostly on fish they catch. Others hunt but do not fish. Some men grow crops. Others wander from place to place and gather food and graze their animals. Anthropologists study all of these different men. The anthropologist tries to discover how the groups of men live. He tries to see what they do that is similar and how they differ.

Anthropologists also are interested in how men lived long ago. Some anthropologists spend their lives trying to find out how men lived thousands of years ago. An anthropologist studies men who lived long ago by digging up the remains of their houses or towns. Almost anything that man made, ate, or used is important in understanding how they lived. Those who study men in this manner are called *archeologists*.

How do you suppose an anthropologist studies living men? Suppose you suddenly landed in the middle of Australia. There you saw the Arunta or Australian bushman. How would you go about studying his way of life? What would you need to know to interpret what you saw? How would you understand their language? How do you keep from misunderstanding what you see? These are the types of problems the anthropologist faces.

Let us suppose an anthropologist wants to study the Arunta or some other group of people. First he would read everything he could find about the group. He would read what other anthropologists have written. He would read the reports of travelers who knew of this group. He would study pictures or movies, of the people. If tapes, or records were available, he would study those. He even tries to learn their language.

After the anthropologist knows all about a group of people, he goes out and lives with them. Anthropologists call this field study. An anthropologist may spend months and years living in the field. He observes and studies the people continuously. In observing, the anthropologist watches what the people do, and how they do it. He tries to make friends with the people. In this way, they learn to trust him. This method of study is called observation.

Some anthropologists believe it is better to live and work as one of the people they are studying. This is called participant observation. Instead of only watching, the anthropologist works and plays as one of the group. In this way, the anthropologist may learn much more about how the people live.

Sometimes an anthropologist must ask questions. Often what he sees is not clear or understandable. Then the anthropologist questions certain people to find out more about what he sees. This is called interviewing.

An anthropologist must keep complete, detailed notes and records. If he does not he may forget. Or he may overlook something important. After the anthropologist returns home, he analyzes all of his notes. The care he takes in making notes is very important to his study of man. From them he can see the whole picture of how the people live. He also can compare one people with another. This is how the anthropologist studies people. Later you will discover some of the things he looks for when he studies men.

THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE

Culture Defined

All of the things that make up ways of living are called culture. The way people eat; the houses they live in; the way they make a living; the language they speak; the way they buy and sell things; and the way they worship God are all part of their way of living or their culture.

There are many different ways of living. The life of the American Indian, the Eskimo, and the person who lives in an American city are very different. These three people eat different kinds of food, get their food in different ways, speak different languages, and even wear different kinds of clothes.

Although there are many different ways of living, or cultures, all people have to do some things in order to live. All people must have food and water. All people must protect themselves from dangers such as cold weather, floods, and storms. All people must sleep. All people must learn to live with other people in their families and groups. Most people want other people to like them because they want friends.

Biological Drives

When we are hungry we want to eat. When we are thirsty we want water. These kinds of wants are called biological drives. They are called biological because biology is the study of living things. They are called drives because these wants cannot be long ignored. They drive one to seek food or water. We find in the study of living things that they have wants or urges that force or drive them to do some things such as seek food, water and shelter from cold or bad weather. Have you ever been real cold? Did you try to find a warm place or look for warm clothes?

Have you ever been real thirsty? What made you want to drink water?

All men have the same biological drives. When we are hungry and we have nothing to eat, we go to a grocery store and buy food or go to a cafeteria and get a meal. If we are at home we may look in the refrigerator for food. We know that the food that we eat comes from many different places. We know that much of it comes from American farms. We also know that some of it comes from farms and factories of other countries. We know that milk and butter come from dairy farms. We know that bananas and oranges come from warm climates. Most of us do not grow our own food on our own farms.

People who have ways of living different from our own get their food in ways different from those we use. How would you get food if there were no grocery stores? What if there were no farms to produce food or factories to can and prepare foods? How would you then get food? Some people live where there are no grocery stores, no farms, and no factories to prepare food. These people get hungry, too, and they must find other ways of getting food or they would die.

Adaptation to Environment

Animals such as rabbits and squirrels also get hungry and thirsty. They have some biological drives like those found in human beings. How do wild animals get food and water? Did you ever watch squirrels gather and store away nuts? How do animals protect themselves against natural dangers such as bad weather, larger animals, and forest fires? We know that some animals grow warm coats of fur in winter, that other animals burrow into the ground and that some hibernate in winter. Some animals can climb trees, others can run fast, and some are big and fierce. In these ways animals can better protect themselves from natural dangers and from their enemies.

The biologists who study living things tell us that men and animals have not always been like these that we know today. For example, horses were once very small, hardly larger than some small dogs of today. Other animals like dinosaurs long ago vanished from the earth. Cave men of long ago were not exactly like men today.

The changes that slowly take place in living things over very long periods of time, sometimes millions of years, is called evolution. The earth has also changed over millions of years. Scientists tell us that mountains slowly wear down, that volcanoes sometimes erupt and push up land from the bottom of the sea to make new islands. Winds, floods, and other things also change the face of the earth.

As the earth and sea change, living things often must find new ways of protecting themselves from new dangers. If they can not find new ways of doing these things, they may die as the dinosaurs did.

The world in which living things live is called their environment. Because no living thing lives everywhere in the world at once, some small part of the world is its environment. For fish that live deep in the sea, the deep sea and all that is in it is their environment. Jungles or mountains are not part of their environment.

As the world changes, the environment of living things changes. To continue to live, living things must change with their environment. They must find new ways of getting food and water and protecting themselves. To do these things, they may gradually grow larger, as the horse did, or they may slowly develop claws, wings, or strong legs. When living things slowly change or evolve to make living easier and better in their changing environment, we say that they are adapting themselves to the changing environment.

Only Man Has Culture

In adapting himself to his changing environment, man has evolved or developed in some ways unlike animals. He has developed hands that make it possible for him to become skilled in using tools. He has developed a brain that enables him to think in ways that no animal can think. These developments have made it possible for men to find new ways of living which are different from those of animals. This new way of living is culture. Culture is man's way of adapting to and modifying his environment.

Not all men, however, have developed the same culture. As we noticed earlier, Eskimos, American Indians, and people in your neighborhood all live in different ways. They do not eat the same kinds of food, live in the same kinds of houses, speak the same language, or wear the same kinds of clothes. We could say that they solved the problems of living in different ways. In this way they developed different cultures.

Culture Is Learned

When you were born, you were born into culture. If you were born in or near the place you now live, you entered into an environment where people had already developed a culture. If you were born in a mountainous region of the United States or on the plains of the West, or in the North or South, you also entered an environment with a culture already developed. As you grew older you learned about your environment and your culture from your family, your neighbors, and your friends. Later, you went to school and learned more about these things from your teachers and your books.

If you had been born in China, you might now be speaking Chinese. You would be eating different kinds of foods with chopsticks. You would be wearing Chinese clothes, and playing the kinds of games that Chinese boys and girls play. You would be learning Chinese culture. You would be learning the Chinese way of life or the way the Chinese solved their problems of living.

In adapting themselves to their environment, men have, over very long periods of time, changed or evolved. They have also developed ways of living or cultures. The young learn these ways of living or culture from the older people. Culture, then, is learned. When we learn a culture we learn many things. We learn a language, manners, style of dress, and many ways of doing things.

Language

We have names for ways of doing things. The way we talk is called language. The way we make things is called technology. The way we treat other people or behave at the table is often called manners. The way we play is called games. The way we buy, sell, and trade is called economy. The way that we develop groups to better live together is called social organization. The way that we worship God is called religion. All of the things that we desire or believe to be good we call values.

Scientists who study culture are called anthropologists. In order to study a culture, anthropologists need to learn a people's language. All people have some kind of spoken language. The spoken language, not the written language, is made up of sounds that stand for ideas. The scientists then must learn the sounds that people make and learn what ideas they represent.

Many words spoken in other languages represent ideas or things that are familiar to us. In one language the word for horse is caballo. In another, the word is maa. In one language the word for five is cinq. In another, it is cinco. In our language we generally use one word for snow. In the language of the Laplander or Eskimo, however, there is no one word for snow, but many different single words for different kinds of snow. The Hopi Indian uses a single word for all flying things except birds. Where we say airplane, rocket, or butterfly, the Hopi uses a single word. The Indians of Brazil use many names for palm trees and parrotts. We in America have many names for automobile, such as compact, hard top, sedan, convertible, and station wagon.

This may help you to understand that the words that are found in a language depend upon what is important to people in their environment. As the environment changes, as things in the life of a people change, the language will change. New words will appear as people find new things to talk about.

Technology

Technology or ways of making things is as important to people as language. Without some way of making things that men must have to live, there would be no culture. First, men must make tools and then learn to use them to make other things. Cave men used stones and sticks for tools. A sharp stone on a stick was used as an ax or as a hammer. Cave men lived in what was called the stone age because most of their tools were made of stone. Later men learned to make tools from metals.

Spears, bows and arrows, baskets, and pots are tools. These tools help men to get food, carry it from place to place, store it away, prepare it for eating. Because tools are so very important in life, men want to get better tools. The desire for better tools leads to inventions. Men often want to learn about new tools from other people. Getting new tools and learning how to use them makes living easier and better. It helps to change and improve the culture.

Economy

People often want to sell or trade the things that they make. They often want to buy some things from other people rather than make them for themselves. The way in which people buy, sell, and trade things is called economy.

People who make their living almost entirely by hunting have little to buy, sell, or trade. They usually do not own any land, but move about in search of game. Where people make their living by farming, farmers usually own or rent their farms. Farmers may sell or trade what they raise on their farms to other people who make their living on other ways.

Where people make their living by farming and manufacturing, they band together and live in villages and towns. Some people will be farmers, others may make shoes, and others will do other kinds of work. The work on farms and in shops will be divided among many people. No one does everything for himself. This way of dividing work is called division of labor.

Where there is division of labor, a person who earns his living by the doing of work will often trade some of the things that he makes for other things that he needs. Where there is division of labor, but each person uses all the things he makes, there will be little or no trade. We will find trade, then, only where there is a division of labor and where the workers make more things than they can use themselves.

Where people do a lot of trading we often find them using money. The practice of trading one thing for another is called barter. For example, if you trade a pocket knife for a comic book you do not need money. You simply exchange one thing for another. This is easy to do. If you did a great amount of trading, you might find it easier to buy and sell by using money rather than trading or exchanging actual things. For this reason, where people have a lot of trading to do they usually use money and buy and sell rather than barter.

Values

Where money is used, money comes to represent things that people want or believe to be good. If you want ice cream and you realize that a dime will buy it, then you can think of a dime in terms of what it will buy. A dime is a certain amount of ice cream. A dime has value then. Its value is what it will buy. A dime is twice as valuable as a nickel, but not as valuable as a quarter.

There are other kinds of values, however, that are different from money values. A person may value a pet or a friend, but would not think of them as being worth a certain number of dollars or cents. Men often value freedom, honesty, and justice. They may also value ways of worshiping God, ways of farming, or many other things.

People learn to value the things that are believed to be good in their culture. Young people learn these values from the older people and from going to school. In any culture, changes in technology or economics take place faster than changes in values. People are more willing to learn to use new tools and new ways of doing things than they are to learn new beliefs about what is good. If, however, new ways of doing things endanger beliefs about what is good, then the new ways will be distrusted.

Summary

Culture is the way of living of a group of people. It is man's way of adapting to and modifying his environment. Culture is man's great achievement.

As you continue to study about cultures, you will learn more about economics, technology, social organization, and religions. You will learn more about people having different cultures from our own. You will come to better understand why they live in the ways that they do. This will help you to better understand why they value things and ideas which are very different from those that we value.

CULTURAL UNIVERSALS AND CULTURAL VARIATION

Universals and Variation Defined

Previous lessons have mentioned that different people have different cultures. The anthropologist, however, does not merely see differences among cultures. He also sees that they have traits which are alike in many ways. Trait has two meanings. It is an object in the culture, such as a fork. It is also a way of behaving in a culture, such as eating with a fork held in the right hand. Thus, a trait is an individual item of culture.

Anthropology, therefore, presents what appears to be a contradiction. Cultures, are alike in some repects and unlike in others. Cultures are similar and at the same time different.

To avoid this contradiction, the anthropologist uses two other words. To emphasize attributes which are alike among various cultures, he uses the term universal. To emphasize that there are differences among cultures, he uses the term variation. Variation implies that for any universal there is a range of instances; that is, traits have different forms.

The best way to understand the use of the terms universal and variation is to compare some cultures. To compare is to take two or more things and point out their similarities and their differences.

Cultural Comparison

To identify variations in culture, we shall compare three cultures. The first is the Arunta, a hunting and gathering people from central Australia. The second is the Kazak, a herding people in the steppes of Southwest Asia. The third is our own culture, the Americans of the United States. The Americans have an industrial economy supported by a very efficient type of mechanized agriculture.

Three aspects of culture will be considered: economics, social organization, and religion. Economics will be looked at in three ways: housing, material culture, and earning a living. Social organization will be looked at in two ways: family, household, and kinship, and the community. A table of comparison, listing only the major traits, will look like the following:

	Culture		
Trait or Attribute	Arunta	Kazak	American
Economics:			
Housing:			
Material Culture:			
Earning a Living:			
Social Organization:			
Family:			
Community:			
Religion:			

In the following sections, each one of the attributes will be discussed in a narrative style for each of the three cultures. The comparative exercises will give you practice in comparing the cultures.

Economics

You have often heard the term "economics." Sometimes you have heard it used in the sense of being thrifty. Sometimes you have heard it used in the sense of making a profit.

The anthropologist uses the term economics to refer to behavior and organization relative to man obtaining from the natural environment those things necessary for his survival. It includes making, distributing, and using goods and services. The three basic elements in his survival, which he must acquire or make, are food, shelter, and clothing. Some cultures, however, provide little shelter and almost no clothing.

To provide the necessities of life, all societies use four basic things known as factors of production. They are: land, labor, know-how, and tools. Land is used in many ways: for hunting, raising animals, growing crops, harvesting tree crops, and extracting minerals. Land also provides the site or space on which man lives.

Use of land depends upon labor. Labor is the expenditure of human effort to do a job. Labor does not, however, depend merely upon the sheer muscle power of the human animal. Imagine trying to hunt a deer by simply running it down or imagine trying to grow plants by digging in the dirt with just your hands. Man has invented a variety of tools, ranging from a wooden club to power machinery, to do a great variety of jobs. He is constantly learning better ways to apply tools and machinery to production. This knowledge, which he can tell and show to other people or write down as instructions, is know-how. Technology is the name the anthropologist gives to this combination of know-how, tools and machinery, and skill in organizing for production.

We can, therefore, say that how much a people make depends on their technology. If a people have a very limited technology, their use of the natural environment will be limited. Their resources will be few. They will have little goods and will exist at a subsistence level only. By subsistence level is meant having just enough necessities to permit survival. On the other hand, some people have a highly developed technology using metal tools, machinery, and millions of horsepower. Such people live in a *consumer economy*, because the economy produces many things to make living comfortable. People in a consumer economy have many needs which are not necessary for physical survival. These needs arise in two ways. The economy is able to produce the goods. People then want the new goods to live easier or to have the kinds of things their neighbors can buy. Such needs are based on cultural *values* and not biological *drives*.

Housing

Houses have many uses. Houses protect people from the weather--snow, rain, heat, wind, dust, and cold. Houses protect people from animals, insects, and human intruders. Houses serve as a place to rear a family--a place for a home. And the size and richness of a house may show the wealth or social position of a family. These housing functions are met by different *house types* in different cultures.

Arunta. The Arunta are hunters and gatheres who move frequently from place to place. They have no special tools for building houses or for making cloth. As a result, they do not often build a shelter which we would consider a house. When they do build a house, it is a dome-shaped structure made of a framewrok of sticks and covered with grass. Everyone in the household works when a new hut is built. The women and children gather sticks. The men put up the frame and thatch it with grass.

This hut is used only during the brief rainy periods. The Arunta seldom stay in one place long enough even to build such a simple house. Most of the time they sleep in the open, sheltered from the wind by a wind-break made of shrubs and brush. A small fire by the side of the sleepers gives some warmth from the cold. On cold nights they sometimes huddle so close to the fire that they are burned by the hot coals.

Kazak. The Kazak are nomadic pastoralists and move their cattle to new pastures after the grass has been eaten up in one area. To move their house as they move with the animals, they developed a frame supported tent called a yurt. The yurt is round, sometimes about twenty feet in diameter, with walls four to five feet high. The wall support is made of a circular wood lattice tied together. An umbrella-like roof is supported by sticks which stretch like ribs from the top of the side walls to a wooden ridge hoop in the center. The entire frame is covered with large pieces of felt, which keeps the interior warm and dry. Heat in cold weather comes from a fire built on the ground in the center. This fire is also used for cooking. The smoke goes out the circular hole in the top, formed by the wooden ridge ring. This opening can be closed to keep heat in or to keep out rain and snow. The ground inside the yurt is also covered with felt pieces and rugs.

To move the yurt, the felt is taken off the frame, rolled up, and placed on a horse. The wooden frame is taken down--first the roof ribs and the the wall lattice. These are bundled together and placed on a horse. At the new campsite, the men unload the horses and the women and children set up the yurt.

The Kazak pass the winter in a permanent camp. In the colder areas the winter house of the Kazak is a small square house, with the floor dug out below ground level. The walls are made of sod, and occasionally stone. Sod is a square of dirt in which the grass roots hold the earth together in a heavy mat. The roof is supported by timbers which span the walls, and is covered with sticks and sod. Sod houses are very warm, because the thick earth walls form good insulation against the cold.

American. Most Americans live in houses which are permanently fixed to a building site, although some now live in movable trailer houses. American house styles have changed over the years. They also vary from one part of the country to another. In the rural areas and in suburbs, the single family dwelling, a type housing one family, is most common. In the cities there are also multiple family units. These range from duplexes and row houses to high rise apartments. A duplex is a house which has two separate entries and can house two families; a row house is made up of single family houses built together with common walls to form a continuous row; a high rise apartment is a many storied building with apartments for many families. All of these housing types contain several rooms. American houses are built from brick, wood, glass, metal, concrete, plastics, and stone. They can be weather controlled. Central heating warms the air in the winter and air-conditioning cools the air in the summer. The water supply and plumbing in American homes for drinking, cooking, and sanitation, and the electric system for lighting and domestic work, are essential parts of the modern American house. When Americans move, they move from one house to another.

Material Culture

The term material culture is one used by the anthropologist to describe the parts of the culture that are related to things that we can touch or see. Artifact is the technical word for material things which men deliberately make for their use.

The material objects in a culture include weapons, tools, equipment, household furnishings, clothing, machinery, and a host of other artifacts. These traits are all related to the level of technology. The higher the level of technology, the more productive the economy and more numerous are the artifacts and the richer is the material culture. We can, therefore, generalize as follows about the three cultures. The Arunta will have few artifacts; the Kazak will have more artifacts; and Americans will have many artifacts. This statement can be tested in the following comparison.

Arunta. Artifacts which the Arunta have are the minimum needed for hunter-gatherers to survive. One all-purpose tool is the spear thrower. It is a device which extends the length of the arm and gives additional leverage or force in throwing the spear. It has a stone point on one end for use as a crude chisel to make other tools. It is also used to make fire by friction. It is rubbed rapidly against a small wooden shield until the heat makes a small spark which can ignite tinder.

Artifacts used by a male Arunta consist mainly of weapons, since his chief task is hunting. He has a spear thrower, one or more spears, a wooden shield, one or more boomerangs or throwing clubs, a stone ax, and a small pouch containing a few objects, tied to a belt braided from human hair. He carries these belongings with him in walking from one place to another. Their combined weight is about twenty or twenty five pounds.

Artifacts used by women are also carried with them on the move. These consist of a pointed digging stick, a shallow wooden bowl, and a net bag in which food or other small objects are carried. The Arunta do not possess any artifacts which we would call household furnishings.

With the few possessions which they do have, the Arunta are able to obtain food and raise families (see the section on "Earning a Living"). They have the skill to use these few artifacts and survive in a hostile desert environment.

Kazak. Compared with the Arunta, the Kazak have a much richer material culture. Their technology is based on herding animals. What they make is made from animal products. One of their important products is felt. Felt is not a cloth, which is made by weaving. Felt is made by matting together layers of wool. This makes a very tough and durable material, which is used for covering the frame and ground of the yurt and also for clothing.

The herds also provide milk, butter, cheese, and milk. Likewise, the herds provide an excess of animals and animal products. This surplus they trade for other products. The exchange of one good for another is called barter. Goods for which the Kazaks trade include such items as pots, pans, knives, rifles, needles, thread, cloth, grain, sugar, and tea.

The Kazaks use animals to move camp. The movable yurt provides a great deal more comfort and protection than does the Arunta hut. The pastoral economy also provides a surplus of products, and the yurts are furnished with a variety of household furnishings. The walls are hung with decorated felt hangings, and the ground is covered with felt rugs. They also have palets on which to sleep, blankets made from felt, leather or wooden boxes for storing dry food items, and leather bags for cheese, butter, and milk. Other specialized equipment includes saddles for riding, roping loops for catching horses, mats for making felt, pots and pans for cooking, and shears for shearing wool.

American. Americans in the United States have more goods than any other people in the world. The American home is filled with a great number and kinds of different furnishings. We can easily name the major artifacts of the Arunta. We can list many of those possessed by the Kazak. But try listing those of the Americans. Even a Sears catalogue with its thousands of items does not include all the artifacts available to Americans.

This rich material culture is supported by an advanced technology. Most goods are mass produced in great factories where machines are run by electric or steam power. Americans who do not work in production are scarcely aware that machines do most of the heavy work in the United States today.

Capital and Consumer Goods

There are two kinds of goods in the material culture--capital goods and consumer goods. Capital goods are those things that are used to make goods while consumer goods are those things used up in living.

Americans have many consumer goods because they have many capital goods. The capital goods of the Arunta consist mainly of a few weapons. The capital goods of the Kazak consist primarily of their animals. The capital goods of the Americans include vast manufacturing complexes. An example is the River Rouge Plant of the Ford Motor Company at Detroit. There are also vast power producing complexes, such as that of the Georgia Power Company and of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Clothing is a particular kind of consumer goods, and is generally found in most cultures. Clothing, like housing, has many functions. It protects the body, it serves as decoration, and it meets standards of modesty.

The Arunta wear so little clothing that we would call them naked. Decoration is achieved by painting the body. They do not have modesty standards which call for clothing.

The Kazak make warm clothing to protect them from the cold. Men and women wear long padded woolen coats reaching below the knee. The women wear dresses when it is warm. When the weather is cold, both men and women wear thick woolen pants tucked into knee-high boots.

American clothing has different forms for boys and girls and for men and women. Great attention is paid to the latest styles. Most American clothing, even in winter, is fairly light in weight, because transportation and buildings are heated. Most American clothing is purchased ready made.

Earning a Living

Earning a living in some cultures, such as the Arunta, is the same as economics. This is because their productive effort barely sustains life. In American culture, however, the phrase "earning a living" refers to the ways particular workers in a money economy work to obtain wages and how they exchange wages for things needed in living. Earning a living in the United States is just one part of the total industrial economy.

Arunta. The Arunta household is an economic unit. It manufactures its own tools and produces and consumes its food. Most of Arunta work is spent in search-for food. Women use their digging sticks to search for roots and burrowing animals. Men hunt for larger animals and are very skillful in stalking and spearing kangaroos or in using the boomerang. Boys and girls help their parents or search for witchetty grubs, honey ants, or nests of honey bees. There is no production of a surplus for barter. There is no production to sell for money. To earn a living for the Arunta is to find enough food by hunting and gathering. They have no domesticated animals and do not cultivate gardens. As nomadic hunters, they move frequently.

Kazak. The Kazak are pastoral nomads. They depend on herds of domesticated animals for food and materials out of which to make clothing and yurts.

Most of the things the Kazak need are obtained from their herds. Their entire lives center around caring for their animals. The animals, however, provide a surplus, which they can barter to other people for things they do not produce.

Sheep make up the greatest part of the Kazak's livestock. The boys herd the flocks; the men care for the horses. They also have some cows and camels. The Kazak in cold mountains have the yak. Their most important foods are milk products obtained from sheep, goats, and even horses. The women milk the animals and make butter and cheese. The men make kumiss from fermented mare's milk.

Probably the most important aspect of Kazak livelihood is the seasonal migration with the herds. The Kazak winter in protected river valleys or in the southern edge of the Siberian forests. In the hot summer the grass withers and they move often to find new pastures and water for their herds. In the fall they return to the protected winter campsites. Each year they repeat this cycle. Each Kazak clan has its own winter grazing lands.

American. Making a living in the United States has a number of features different from both the Arunta and Kazak. First, as in all industrial economies, there is a great division of labor. Both men and women work at highly specialized activities. As a result there are thousands of different kinds of jobs.

Second, an industrial economy produces goods to sell on the market. The worker on a job uses for himself very little of what he produces. In fact, most workers are only a part of a productive process and seldom ever see the finished product. Moreover, many workers who are employed in factories do not operate machines which make goods. An example is a typist or clerk in the factory office. Then there are a great many occupations needed in the total economy, but which are only indirectly concerned with production. Examples of such jobs are a school teacher or other government employee. In an industrial money economy the worker is paid a wage or salary which he uses to buy what he needs.

Third, in an industrial economy there is a separation of home and work. Most of the productive economic activities are carried on away from the home. Members of the worker's family, unlike the Arunta and Kazak, may know very little about the kind of work the wage earner does.

Fourth, in the American economy only five per cent of the workers are farmers. This releases the labor force to work in other occupations. Few families produce any of their food.

Social Organization

Social organization is a term which refers to the way people are organized into groups and the way relations are maintained within a society. Society is a term which has several meanings. It often refers to all the people who possess a common culture. Thus we speak of Arunta society, Kazak society, etc. A society has social organization. The social organization of a society is one aspect of its culture.

The population of preliterate groups is often very small. A description of their family and kinship system is often the same as a description of their social organization. The population of modern societies is often very large, numbering millions of people. In such large societies, the family is merely one of many different types of organizations.

In this discussion only three aspects of social organizations will be examined in detail--the family, household, and kinship systems. In examining the Americans, other types of social organization will be mentioned.

The Family

All people live in groups. Groups of people make up society. The smallest unit of society is the family. There are two types of family. The family with which you are familiar consists of father, mother, and children. Only rarely does another relative live in this family group in the United States. This small family is called a nuclear family. In many parts of the world, however, the family may include grandparents, children, grandchildren, and other relations. This large family is called an extended family.

The family has two main purposes. First it serves to carry on the group. Children are born in a family and are raised in a family. The family also protects its members and it serves as an economic unit.

A second purpose of the family is to carry on the culture. It is in the family that children first learn the ways of their culture. The chapter on "Enculturation" describes this process.

A term which is frequently used in connection with the family is that of household. Family and household do not mean the same thing. The word household refers to the people dwelling together, usually in the same house. A household may consist of a nuclear family and other persons or even an extended family and servants. A household is sometimes larger than the family. Extended families may occupy several houses. In such cases the family is larger than a household.

Arunta. The desert in which the Arunta live provides few resources. The technology of the Arunta is likewise limited. The household is the largest group which can live together for a long time. It consists of a nuclear family and sometimes one or more persons. It is the Arunta household that works together to produce and consume its food.

Arunta rules of etiquette are based on kinship. All relatives are grouped into classes based on generations within the kinship system.

Kazak. The Kazak household is an extended family. It consists of the primary father, called the Old Father, and his wife, unmarried sons and daughters, married sons and their wives, grandchildren, servants, and the children of servants. When a child is born to a son and his wife, they do not set up a new household. They continue to live in the tent of his father.

Leadership of the Kazak household is in the Old Father or household head. He owns the sheep and horses and household property. He makes the important decisions--when to move for summer pasturage and when to move for the winter encampment. He directs the work of his sons and their children.

In order for a son to get married, he must marry a girl outside his clan (clan exogamy) and pay the family of the bride. This payment, called the bride price, is made in animals and other valuable property. When a daughter marries, she leaves the tent of her father and moves to her husband's family tent. Her tasks will be assumed by the wives of her brothers.

American. The American family is typically a nuclear family. It consists of a mother, father, and one or more children. Today it is rare to find other people in the household. Productive economic activity is carried on outside the home. Consumer goods are purchased with the earnings of employed workers. Many kinds of enculturation, associated with Arunta and Kazak families, have been partially moved outside of the home. These are carried on by specialists. An example is schooling. Changes in the purpose of the

American family, however, does not mean that it is less important. Families are still important for the love and help they give to its members. American families may also take care of their children even after they have become young adults in order to provide them with a college education.

Community

The term community connotes a group of people who live in a particular locality and who share a common way of doing things. It does not indicate the size or organization of the group. The members may or may not be related. Communities in preliterate societies are often kinship groups. Other types of communities are neighborhood, village, town, and city.

Arunta. Arunta households are combined into local groups. They are bound together by kinship and live in a definite territory, which they claim the right to use. The Arunta local group is not part of a larger organization at a tribal level. Neither do they have any organization which we would call governmental. The Arunta tribe is nothing more than a number of local groups which live in a specific section of Australia. They have a language, customs, rites, and beliefs in common.

The Arunta are nomadic. Their movements are not aimless, however, but follow a clearly defined cycle. Each local group has a home territory used by its households. The territory is well known to Arunta groups. An outsider is not allowed to enter the home territory of a group without its permission. In this home territory the local group returns again and again to the same camping areas. The home territory is also of religious importance to the local group. It is believed to be the place where their totemic ancestors live.

Kinship is the basis of Arunta social organization. There is a strong feeling of relationship between the men in each family. A man asked to name his ancestors will begin with his father, his father's father, and continue in this manner. He will ignore his mother and her relations because he does not feel related to them. He does, however, feel closely related to his daughters and relations of his male kinsmen.

A descent system traced through one parent only is unilineal. When kinship is traced through the father's line only it is called patrilineal. The men must marry women outside their own family line. This practice is an example of exogamy. The kinship system is used to establish relations between two Arunta wherever they meet. A common part of an Arunta greeting is the question "Who was your father's father?" The answer to this question lets them know how they are related.

Kazak. As with the Arunta, the basis of Kazak social organization is kinship. Kazak households are linked together by a lineage which claims descent from a common male ancestor. A lineage is a kinship group. These lineages are called clans. Each clan has its own winter camp, grazing area, and identifying mark. This mark is branded on the animals and shown on other belongings. In the summer when the grass is scarce the households of the clan separate in search of pasture. They come together in the early spring and fall when the grass is plentiful and return to a common winter camp. Households of a clan also assist each other in time of trouble.

The clan chief is head of the largest and richest household in the clan. He serves as clan spokesman in dealing with other clans. The authority of the clan chief is based on the consensus of heads of households. Consensus is agreement by mutual consent, and not by majority vote. The clan chief does not have direct authority over the household heads.

The *tribe* is the largest unit in Kazak social organization with an appointed leader. The Kazak tribe is an *extended lineage* made up of related clans. The chief of the tribe is selected by the clan chiefs. He is usually the chief of the largest and wealthiest clan. His authority depends upon persuasion, personal leadership, and consensus. In fact, the clans of a tribe rarely come together. Sometimes a tribe will camp together after the spring rains. At this time the grass may be sufficient to support many herds in a small area at the same time. Tribal organization is based on kinship and is not the same thing as the political organization of states.

American. American social groups differ from both the Arunta and Kazak in several ways. First, kinship is not as important. At marriage each couple sets up its own household, often some distance from their parents. Brothers and sisters see each other and their parents infrequently. Cousins hardly know each other. There is little sense of relations forming a distinct group. Sometimes you may read about a big family reunion. Then it is so unusual that it is news.

Second, American social organization is based upon many *formally organized* groups. There are various clubs, associations, and societies for men and women, boys and girls. These organizations are often run by a small group of leaders who are active in the organization.

Organizations which are very important in American society are political and economic organizations. Examples of political organizations are *government* and *political party*. Examples of economic organizations are *corporation* and *labor union*.

A third difference in American social organization is the tremendous number of Americans compared with the number of Arunta and Kazak. The population of the United States is now over 193,000,000. Although there are many rural neighborhoods and small towns, the trend is toward larger and larger cities containing millions of people. Already over half of the American people live in a relatively few large urban areas. Local communities in the United States are tied into a national community in many different ways.

Religion

All societies have some kind of religious system. Religion is, like social economics and social organization, a cultural universal.

Arunta. The Arunta religion is described as totemism. The totem is an animal, plant, or object associated with a particular group. An Arunta is born into a totemic group. The elders of the local group decide the name of the child and assign him to a totemic group before he is born. An Arunta totemic group believe they are descended from their totem. When an Arunta dies, his spirit is believed to remain in the territory of a local group near his totemic ancestors.

Each totemic group explains its origin and history by stories or myths. These stories explain the unknown and give a sense of control over the unknown. Every year the members of a totemic group perform totemic rituals. This is a part of their totemic obligation. Since totems are generally a plant or animal which are a source of food, these rites also help the Arunta to believe that the food supply will be plentiful.

Arunta children are accepted as adults much earlier than are American children. This is somewhere about the age of twelve to fourteen. At this time, Arunta children are told the myths of their totem and go through an initiation. The boys also must prove their courage by submitting to various ordeals. After his initiation, the child is regarded as an adult.

Kazak. The Kazak are Muslims. A Muslim is the name given to a member of a faith called Islam. Islam does not emphasize worship in a group in the sense of weekly church worship, as with Americans. Worship consists mainly of saying prayers in the direction of Mecca, the city of Islam, and reading the Koran. The Koran is a religious book believed to contain the sayings of Allah. Allah is the Arabic name for "the God."

Five daily prayers ought to be said--on arising, in mid-morning, noon, mid-afternoon, and at sunset. These prayers are said individually by adult Muslims. Five main religious practices of a Muslim are: to pray five times a day, fasting in the month of Ramadan, to make one pilgrimage to Mecca, to participate in religious wars, and to perform good works. The Kazak always says a short prayer before killing an animal for food or before eating a meal.

Two religious practitioners are found among the Kazak. A practitioner is a general word which means "to engage in the practice of." The first is a mullah. A mullah is a religious teacher who reads the Koran, interprets religious law, and presides at feasts and ceremonies, such as marriage. The mullah is not a priest; he might be described as a lay preacher, teacher, and lawyer. The second religious practitioner is a diviner and healer. He is believed to have powers to fortell the future and to cure sickness. He foretells the future by reading cracks made in a sheep's shoulder blade after heating it over a fire. This kind of divination is known as scapulimancy. The diviner represents a carryover from Kazak belief before they were converted to Islam.

American. The religion of Americans is very complex. Several features make it different from the religions of tribal groups.

First, there are many religious groups and no one religion to which every American belongs. There are over 250 denominations in the United States plus several thousand independent churches. The three major religious groups in the United States are Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish.

Second, basic beliefs of American religion come from the Judeo-Christian tradition. These beliefs influence concepts of right and wrong. There are, however, many variations in these beliefs.

Third, an American religious and political principle is based on the idea of separation of church and state. In general, this means the people do not have to belong to a religious group and that there is no religious group supported by the state. Political control is separate from religious control.

Fourth, American religious practice, like education and work, is highly institutionalized and separate from the home. Americans generally believe that people ought to belong to a church and to attend church services. These services are generally held in a special building called a church or synagogue. Teaching their religion in the United States is also done by the church--Protestants in Sunday schools, Catholics in parochial schools, and Jews in classes held at a Jewish cultural center or synagogue.

Cultural Universals

The preceding sections have examined aspects of culture of three very different groups of people--the Arunta, Kazak, and Americans of the United States.

These three cultures range from the simple to the complex, from little technology to a vast array of tools and machines, from small groups to millions of people.

All people, wherever found and as far back in the past as men can be identified from other animals, have had a culture. To be human is to have a culture. Culture is universal in man's experience.

A second aspect of culture is that all cultures contain common elements. In the introductory section of this chapter the term universal was first explained. The study of the variations in the cultures of the Arunta, Kazak, and Americans show that universals are attributes which cultures have in common and that variations are instances or examples of universals. Cultures share universals, but the form is different.

Various anthropologists have compiled lists of culture universals. The following list includes ten selected from a list of seventy-two. Some of these ten were not mentioned in the comparison of the three cultures. Read the list and see in what way you can give a possible instance from the three cultures you have studied. Can you list other universals?

Ten Universals, Listed Alphabetically

athletic sports
calendar
cooking
dancing
games
greetings
language
law
tool making
visiting

Summary

Each culture contains the same basic elements--economics, social organization, and religion. The details of each culture vary from culture to culture. All people do the same things but in different ways. All cultures have universals but the forms vary.

ENCULTURATION

The chapter "Cultural Universals and Variation" described variations in cultures. However different Arunta, Kazak, and American cultures, a child born into any one of them has the problem of becoming an Arunta, a Kazak, or an American.

Enculturation

Enculturation is the process by which people acquire the traits of their culture. Enculturation is not merely rearing. Rearing is the action taken by parents to raise their children. Enculturation is not merely learning. Learning implies the acquisition of knowledge after study. The anthropologist, however, has extended his meaning of learning and uses it as a synonym for enculturation.

Enculturation involves imitation, listening, playing, talking, doing household tasks, going to school and church, belonging to clubs and groups, working, getting a job, dating, getting married, earning a living, having children, and changing one's role with age.

Role refers to the kind of behavior a society expects of a person in a given situation. A culture expects one kind of behavior from a child, another from a young man or woman, another from a husband or wife, and still another from grandparents. A culture expects a different kind of behavior from the same person as he fulfills the role of husband, father, employee, brother, son-in-law, brother-in-law, alumnus, student, member of a club, president of an organization, veteran, and so on. Enculturation is a process which is never complete, but spans the life cycle from birth to death.

This chapter, however, will focus on four major ways children acquire the traits of their culture. They are: rearing, imitation, tradition, and schooling.

Rearing

Rearing is all the things parents try to do to bring up their children. The importance of rearing will be described in this section.

A new born baby is helpless. Unlike other animals, the human child is not born to live without his parents. He cannot get food; he cannot find shelter; he cannot defend himself; he cannot turn over, much less crawl. About all he can do is cry. Without the care and protection of adults, he would soon die.

While other animals feed and take care of their young for several days, or even several months, it is necessary for human animals to take care of their young for many years. During this long period of dependency, however, the big-brained human child can acquire the traits of his culture.

The primary and universal social unit for the rearing of children is the family. In all cultures the primary role in child care is with the mother. It is she who feeds the baby, keeps him clean, cuddles him, runs in answer to his cries of pain, and talks and sings to him. Little by little the baby's body develops: his eyes focus, he can hold up his head, he finds his fingers and toes, he can turn over, and he learns to crawl. He hears his mother talk and makes noises; he sees people walking, and tries to pull upright.

But this development takes place within the family. From the day he enters the family till the day he leaves it, its members encourage and praise, punish and reprove. They tell him what is right and wrong. They show him what to eat and when to eat;

how to bathe, dress, sleep, and play. They tell him what to say and when to say it; show him when to be gay and when to be quiet and sad; bind up his wounds and nurse his sickness.

From his parents a child gets certain inherited physical characteristics. From his family he receives his first notion of how to do things, and it is here that his basic personality is formed. Through all the various phases of child care, the family is a positive agency of enculturation. Romantically, the family may be thought of as a place for love; anthropologically, it is a cradle for man. A child becomes human in a family.

Imitation

Imitation is the attempt to follow a model or pattern of some kind. There is, of course, much imitation involved in rearing. Imitation, however, emphasizes what the child tries to do, while rearing emphasizes what parents try to do for the child.

The human infant has few automatic biological tendencies, but he does have great capacity to imitate. You have heard the saying "Mondey see, monkey do." If children cannot do this, they cannot grow up.

Talking is one of the most important things learned by imitation and repetition. Mothers spend a lot of time talking to babies. This is very important, because the baby is with the mother most of the time. The acquisition of speech is one of the most important jobs the child masters. When he learns to speak, he does not have to see a thing in order to imitate it. Sounds tell him what to do, and he can make his own wants and desires known by the use of these sounds. The use of language to communicate ideas and tools to perform certain tasks are distinctive human qualities.

In the home, children hear adults engage in all kinds of talk. Arunta children listen to adults as they huddle around the open campfire or while they are hunting. Kazak children hear their elders talk in the shelter of their warm yurt or while they are at work. American children hear grown ups talk around the dining table, riding in the car, or while sitting together in the family home. In this way they hear about problems and how to solve them.

Play is a special way to imitate. The Arunta boy has small spears and spear throwers much like his father's. From these toy weapons he gradually learns the skill he will use as an adult in hunting. American girls' toys are like things their mothers use around the house. American girls play with dolls, play house and family, pretend to cook, and engage in types of play which help them learn the roles of women. American boys also sometimes play with models which help them as men. These may range from tool kits to soldier outfits.

Doing tasks about the home is also another way to imitate. Arunta mothers carry their children when they search for food. The mothers dig for roots and grubs. Before long, the child also tries to dig for roots and search for grubs.

Kazak boys herd sheep. This trains them to care for animals and to take care of themselves. One of the most important events in the life of a Kazak boy is when he is given his own horse. His early imitation of his father teaches him how to take care of his own horse. Kazak girls help their mothers. In this way Kazak boys learn men's work while girls learn women's work.

The American girl may help with the dishes, baby sit, or clean house. These are jobs she must do when she has a home of her own. The American boy may rake leaves, mow the lawn, or help with gardening. These are tasks he must do when he has a house of his own.

Tradition

Tradition is the customs and beliefs of a people transmitted from one generation to another. Tradition is transmitted in two ways--by word of mouth and by books. In cultures where people have writing, tradition has become written and is largely transmitted by schooling. In cultures which do not have writing, the tradition is oral and handed down by word of mouth. Stories of make believe, animal tales, fairy stories, great hunts and feats, courage and endurance, and heroic deeds not only tell something interesting and while away the hours, but they teach honesty, kindness, truthfulness, and other values of a culture. Why is the story of George Washington and the cherry tree handed down to American children? This story originated in 1806. It is to set a model of truthfulness by a boy who became the great American called the "Father of His Country."

All cultures have stories and myths which transmit such models and pass on the standards of the culture. An Arunta or Kazak boy hears stories about his ancestors sitting around the campfire. Against the drone of the story teller's voice he sees the past come to life in the fitful light of the campfire. He feels the ghosts of his long dead ancestors crouching in the shadows. He wishes to become like them, follow their ways, and perform their deeds.

Schooling

Schooling is a fourth way children learn their culture. Schooling is mainly a way of teaching children the use of two kinds of symbols--writing and numbers. Writing symbols stand for speech sounds; number symbols express quantities. To master these symbols and the knowledge they can convey, literate cultures provide an institution we call a school. It has four major elements: a particular place, the school building; a specialist, the teacher; selected material for instruction, books for transmitting knowledge; and children to be taught, pupils. Schooling is a means for transmitting culture.

Boys and girls spend many years in school in complex cultures which have writing. This is because symbol manipulation--writing, reading, and computation with numbers--is the key to the specialized knowledge of the culture. This knowledge keeps growing because of writing. No one person can master it all. Knowledge is taught in a general way in the early years of schooling. In college and particularly in graduate school, knowledge which is transmitted is highly specialized. An Arunta or Kazak boy acquires most of his culture through direct experiences of living. An American boy or girl acquires two types of culture--one which they share in common with other Americans, and a special culture which they share with people who work at their trade or profession.

Writing is a way of recording speech so that another person who knows the written code can receive the message when he reads the written recording. Children learn to talk by imitation. But most children in any culture have to be taught to read. Writing is a way to encode speech; reading is a way to decode speech signs. Reading is silent speech. Once a person masters the way to encode speech, he can write messages and instructions. Once he learns to decode writing, he can find out many things for himself.

Schooling is one of the most important tasks for boys and girls in American culture. In going to school, children learn many things besides book knowledge--how to live with other people, how to execute an assigned task, how to follow instructions, how to be a member of many different groups. Many Americans realize that their future success as workers, the amount of money they make, and their standard of living largely depends on the amount of formal schooling they receive.

Arunta children are taught the mythology and beliefs of their totem in initiation ceremonies. This oral teaching by the elders of the totemic group takes place over a short period of time. The boy also undergoes an ordeal. This kind of Arunta training is so different from what takes place in an American school that it would hardly be called schooling. The Kazak boy and girl receive some instruction in the Koran from a religious teacher, the mullah. Under the Soviet government, schools have been established for the Kazak. They are taught in their native Kazak but also are taught in Russian, the official and scientific language of their country.

Summary

Children in all cultures acquire the traits of their culture--from rearing, imitation, tradition, and schooling. Children in all cultures learn in much the same way. Preliterate peoples do not have schools. When they do acquire written symbols for their language, however, they can also be taught in schools. Schooling is not only a means for the transmission of one's own culture, but it is also a means to acquire culture from other people. Schooling is one of the principal ways people in underdeveloped areas of the world are acquiring new knowledge and tools today to increase the amount of goods and raise their standard of living.

CULTURE DYNAMICS

In March, 1965 two young Americans, Gus Grissom and John Young, were blasted into space in a Gemini spacecraft nicknamed the "Molly Brown." Their flight was very significant in space technology. For the first time the orbit of the satellite was changed by the command pilot firing retro-rockets. A few days before, a Russian cosmonaut, Leonov, got out of his space craft, the Voskhod II. For a breathtaking twenty minutes he became a human satellite travelling at a speed of 18,000 miles per hour.

At the same time these astronauts were testing moon flight techniques an Arunta hunter, armed with a stone tipped spear and spear thrower, was stalking a kangaroo. Near the windbreak at the campsite his wife, with a child on her back, was digging for grubs. Space and stone age technology have met in time.

Why is it an American or Russian can reach for the moon, while an Arunta still hunts with stone and stick? Why do some industrial cultures hum with machines and artificial power, while other cultures have changed little in thousands of years?

The purpose of this chapter is to help answer such questions. Cultural dynamics tells about the origin, nature, direction, and spread of cultural change. More illustrations of cultural dynamics will come from American culture than from Kazak and Arunta cultures. This is because more changes have taken place in American culture. Also, we have more information about culture changes in the United States.

The Origin of Cultural Change

At a moment in time, a culture is made up of a fixed number of cultural traits. A trait, you will recall, is a thing or way of behaving. These traits can be listed and described. Any change in the culture can come about in two ways: the addition of something new or in the loss of something old. A culture, however, seldom loses an old trait but just replaces it.

An example in the United States is the rapid replacement of the horse and buggy with the automobile. The old trait, however, was not completely lost. People still know how to make buggies and hitch them to horses, and in some places they are still used. The Amish, a religious group in Pennsylvania, do not use cars or trucks, but buggies and wagons.

Not only was the automobile something new introduced into the culture; it was something added to the culture. If we add something to the culture, then the culture grows or accumulates. Cultures grow by an increase in the number of traits.

An explanation of the origin of cultural change can therefore begin with the introduction of new traits.

Innovation is the introduction of new traits into a culture. There are two aspects of innovation. First, there must exist a new trait. Second, there is the frequency of the new trait, or how much the new trait is used. The example of the automobile will again be used.

Expensive automobiles were manufactured in the United States before Henry Ford's famous Model-T. Few people could buy cars. Ford later came out with the Model-T. This rugged, mass produced car was cheaper than other cars and put America on wheels. For the automobile to make many changes in American life, it had to be made cheaply and to run on the dirt roads of forty years ago. More people could buy and use the Model-T.

Cultural change is great if there is a great amount of innovation. Cultural change is small if there is little innovation. For example, automobiles have had little influence on life in Russia as compared with the United States. In 1958, there were two cars for every thousand people in Russia. In the United States, there was one car for every three people.

At this point an illustration of innovation and culture change will be used which will be repeated later on. Throw a stone into a pond of water. Imagine that the stone is an innovation; pretend that the pond is culture. The innovation (stone) makes an impact (splash) in the center of the culture (pond). From the splash waves spread out. These waves are changes in the culture. Some changes (waves) encounter resistance; in the form of an attitude (stick) or vested interest (boulder). Other changes (waves) are helped by the lack of obstructions. From the center of the impact, the waves spread out over the pond. They are stronger at the point of impact; weak at the outer edge. But before these changes fade away, another innovation hits the culture. The changes from the innovations collide and ripple together. Other innovations occur and the culture (pond) is no longer stable (smooth). The culture is dynamic or ever changing.

Two sources of innovation are: (1) discovery and invention, and (2) diffusion.

Invention is making something that did not exist before. Discovery is finding out something that was formerly unknown. Invention indicates that something new is made; discovery indicates that something is found which previously existed, although not known to the culture. Thus, we say that Bell invented the telephone while Columbus discovered America; Whitney invented the cotton gin while Fleming discovered penicillin. Both *purposeful* invention and discovery occur more often in scientific than in nonscientific cultures. Some invention and discovery comes about by *chance*. In America we promote invention and discovery.

Invention is usually thought of in material terms. Non-material inventions are also important. Examples are: a political invention, the United States Federal State of 1787; an economic invention, credit buying; a religious invention, Christianity; and a social invention, the practice of non-violent protest to gain civil rights. These non-material inventions have had, and are having, a big affect on American culture. A new idea or a new way of doing things may be as revolutionary as a new machine and bring about as great changes.

Cultural continuity describes the fact that neither mechanical nor social inventions come fully developed from nothing. Every new trait grows from some existing trait. The principle of cultural continuity is also described as the *modification of existing traits*. Modification rather than complete replacement is often the way innovation comes about. It makes use of previous knowledge and skills, it is less likely to disturb existing patterns of culture, and it sometimes costs less.

Many inventions are simply a combination of previous known elements. A famous example of a mechanical invention as a combination of previously known inventions is the automobile. It was put together from a few important existing inventions, such as cooling system, gears, clutch, gas engine, and carriage body.

An example of a political invention as a combination of previous ideas and experience is the Federal Constitution of 1787. It combined former experience with a strong government under the British king and previous experience with a weak government under the Articles of Confederation.

The principles of cultural continuity and modification help to explain why the rate of change (the amount and the speed of change) varies greatly from culture to culture. Where the inventory or total amount of goods is small, there is likely to be little innovation. Here the few goods show little knowledge. Where the amount of goods is large, there is likely to be more innovation. Here the abundance of goods shows a greater amount of knowledge. Too, the richer the culture the greater are the number of choices of traits. All people in the culture do not have to do all things in the same way, and people are not as likely to be against new things. An example of this is found in a contrast of the Kazak and the American cultures.

Factors which help bring about invention and discovery in a culture are:

(1) the greater the number of cultural traits;
(2) the willingness of the people to make changes;
(3) the new ideas which come from diffusion;
(4) the development of scientific interests;
(5) the number of schools and colleges making science and engineering important;
(6) the demand for inventions.

Change in American culture is brought about by a large investment of money and men in research. In 1940 the money spent by both industry and government for research was 570 million dollars but today amounts to 20 billions. By 1975 it is expected to amount to almost 40 billion dollars. Engineers, scientists, and technicians in research will increase from a little over one million to more than three million employees. In the production of goods and services, Americans actively seek to bring about change.

At the same time, many Americans fear automation and seek to protect their jobs.

Diffusion is the process by which a trait moves from one culture to another. Most traits in a culture were not developed in that culture but came from other cultures. As much as ninety per cent of the traits found in a particular culture are estimated to have come by diffusion. Diffusion may be a more important source of innovation than invention or discovery. In modern times the flow of diffusion has been from an industrialized Europe and the United States to the underdeveloped nations of Asia and Africa. Industrialized means an economy with power machines and factories; underdeveloped refers to a low level of technology and standard of living. However, industrial countries use many cultural traits developed in other places of the world centuries ago. Examples of such traits are glass from ancient Egypt, silk from China, domesticated cotton from India, coinage from ancient Lydia, the alphabet from the Phonecians, and the Christian religion from Jewish Semites.

Primary diffusion is the passage of a trait directly from one culture to another. An example is the establishment of cotton manufacturing in the United States by Samuel Slater. He was an English textile mechanic who came to the United States in 1790 and built a spinning jenny and power loom from memory. England had laws against the export of these machines and against skilled mechanics leaving the country. Slater was able to get out of England and from his knowledge of these machines was able to duplicate them.

Secondary diffusion occurs when a trait passes through other cultures. An example in the early history of Georgia is the attempt of the Trustees to introduce silk culture with the aid of Italians brought over for this purpose from Italy. Silk culture had been copied in Italy from China.

Selective diffusion is the process by which one culture accepts some traits and rejects others. One of the best examples is the modern Japanese. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, they set about to modernize Japan and sent study groups all over the world. They copied England's parliamentary system; Germany's army; and the educational system of France. From Europe and the United States they borrowed new ways to manufacture. In a period of about twenty-five years, Japan changed from an agricultural country to a modern industrial state. At the same time, they kept many old customs, and even today Japan has its own way of doing things that are clearly Japanese.

Stimulus diffusion is the name given to taking the idea of a trait, rather than borrowing the trait itself. The Cherokee writing system is an example of this type. The Cherokees did not have a written language when Europeans first met them. By 1821 Sequoyah, after several years of effort, had found eighty-six Cherokee syllables, to each of which he gave a symbol. Some of these symbols were borrowed from the Roman alphabet. In the case of the Cherokee, however, only the idea of the alphabet, and not the Roman alphabet itself, had diffused.

The presence of certain traits in different cultures does not necessarily mean that one of the cultures had to get it from another. Examples are: agriculture, numerals, calendar, and writing, independently developed in both the Old and New Worlds. This is called independent invention.

Those things which help the diffusion of culture are trade, travel, printing and other means of communication, and good transportation. Island or peninsula countries in particular seem to have been in a favorable position to borrow traits by diffusion. Examples are ancient Greece and Rome in the Mediterranean World and England and Japan in modern times.

Isolation slows up or prevents the diffusion of culture. People who live in geographically isolated places, such as the Sahara Desert or the Brazilian jungle, are less likely to receive new ideas from the outside world. The same is true of people who are politically isolated, such as those in cultures living behind the Iron Curtain or the Bamboo Curtain. Many preliterate people live in such isolated places of the world or in such fear of other men that there is no contact with other cultures, either by diffusion or acculturation. Such isolated cultures have not often developed advanced technologies, although there are exceptions, such as the Polynesians whose achievements in navigation are regarded as feats of unusual skill. Preliterate people are those people who have not developed writing.

Acculturation

Acculturation is the change which takes place in a culture as a result of people in one culture living over a period of time in contact with another culture. Acculturation should not be confused with enculturation, which is the acquisition of one's own culture. Acculturation is also different from diffusion, which is the passage of culture traits. Acculturation refers to changes in either mechanical or behavioral traits.

Contact of two cultures is brought about by war and conquest, colonization, immigration, political policy, migration, or similar means which bring people of different cultures together. But contact alone does not bring about acculturation. It is possible for people of different cultures to live in the same territory alongside each other without copying each other's culture. Acculturation results only when there is a change in culture traits.

Acculturation is illustrated by American Indians in the United States. They drive cars, farm with tractors, go to school, serve in the armed forces, and are usually Christian.

Syncretism is a form of half-way or partial acculturation in which new and older traits are mixed. An example is the new marriage practices of the Kazak. The Kazak replaced their traditional clan exogamy with a farm exogamy. Exogamy refers to marrying outside of a group.

The traditional Kazak clan is a kinship system, in which all the members are relations. Persons did not marry within the clan, but took a wife or husband from another clan. After the Soviet government organized the Kazak in collective farms in the 1920's, an attempt was made to keep clans together in one collective. Technicians and administrators were nevertheless brought in from outside, so the membership of the farm and clan were not the same. The farm took the place of the clan as the basis of marriage restrictions. Today the Kazak girl will not marry a boy from the same farm, just as she formerly would not marry a boy from the same clan.

Cultural disorganization or cultural breakdown may come about from acculturation. This happens especially when there are differences in the cultures of two groups. The Yir Yoront give an example of cultural disorganization. The Yir Yoront are an Australian native group similar to the Arunta. A few years after meeting with European missionaries, Yir Yoront culture had been torn apart because the system of social control broke down. Social control refers to the accepted or right way of doing things. The right way is usually enforced by the customs or beliefs of a community or the laws of a government.

In Yir Yoront culture, social control was based on some people being above and other people being below in authority. This means that every Yir Yoront had somebody over him, except the oldest males, and that everyone had somebody under him, except the youngest children. The outward form of this system of social control was ownership of the stone ax. The stone axes could only be made and owned by adult males. If youths and women needed to use an ax they had to borrow it. In return for its use, they promised loyalty and their services to the owner of the ax.

The stone ax was the visible symbol of this system of authority and stood for the authority of the owner. The missionaries did not understand that the stone ax was not merely a tool but a symbol in a system of social control. When they tried to help the Yir Yoront by giving them steel axes, they gave them to women and children as well as to the adult males. Now everyone had axes. Children and women did not have to borrow them from an older adult male. Without the restriction of authority symbolized by restriction of ax ownership the Yir Yoront culture soon fell apart. This loss of the parts of a culture working together is known as disorganization or disintegration.

Cultural Stability

Innovation does not take place at the same rate in all traits in the same culture or in all cultures. In every culture there are some things which stay the same way year after year. In some cultures the rate of innovation is so low that it appears that no change is taking place, and people do not see that change is happening.

Cultural stability describes the way some culture traits stay the same, even when others change. On the same day that Gus Grissom and John Young were shot into space, you got up, dressed, had your breakfast, went to school, came back home, played, did your lessons, had supper, watched television, and went to bed. The big event of the day did not change what you did. A large part of the life of the people in any culture is spent day-in and day-out doing the same things. Such routine activity means that, in the middle of change, it is possible to know what our own and other people's activities are likely to be. We can predict what we are going to do.

Culture lag is a way of saying that some traits of a culture are behind other traits. Some parts of the culture no longer fit or work together well. Culture lag happens when one part of the culture changes but other traits do not change. Many troubles in a culture come about from the unevenness of culture change which makes one part of the culture lag behind another. Two examples of culture lag are given.

The Fifteenth Amendment, sometimes called the Negro Suffrage Amendment, was ratified in 1870. Suffrage is the right to vote. This was the third Civil War Amendment; The Thirteenth had done away with slavery and the Fourteenth had given citizenship to Negroes. However, in 1965, a hundred years later, President Johnson asked the Congress to pass a voting bill which would do away with obstacles to Negro voting. It may, therefore, be said that there has been a lag between Negro voting rights and their ability to vote.

Another example of culture lag is the failure of state legislatures throughout the United States to reapportion their legislatures and congressional districts. Reapportion means to change the make up of districts for representatives--state and national--on the basis of the number of people. Cities have grown while country areas have lost people. This meant that rural people had more representation than city people. This lag in reapportionment is now being changed in Georgia and in many other states in which a minority of the voters had a majority of the representatives. The lack of representation of city people in the state and national governments is one reason why there has been such a lag in the attention given to the problems of cities.

Resistance to, or being against, cultural change is found in all cultures. Even in Western culture, which has been most willing to change, many good things have been opposed. More people are usually against social innovation than against technical innovation. But there were people who were against the railroads, the telephone, and the automobile, things taken for granted today.

Some of the resistances to social change are:

(1) habit, a liking for familiar ways;
(2) conservatism, a wish to keep things as much as possible as they are;
(3) reverence for the past, an imaginary goodness given to old things;
(4) vested interest, a threat to a person's money, prestige, or position;
(5) difficulty in finding a new way to replace an old way;
(6) hostility to an innovation, because of bad results from a first trial;
(7) a general outlook which is afraid of new things.

The Arunta have a very stable culture, as do many other people who are often described as "primitive." These cultures usually have such a low level of technology that most of the effort of the people is directed toward earning a living. There is no time left after earning a living for people to try different things.

The Arunta have so little technology that any attempt to help them, as with the Yir Yoront, might bring about cultural death. The latest innovation seems to have been the boomerang introduced by diffusion in the modern period.

Material Things Influence Social Changes

In the chapter on "Enculturation" you learned how children learn their culture through rearing, imitation, tradition, and schooling. Much of this early enculturation relates more to how people behave than it does to the things they use in later life. There appear to be two kinds of culture traits as to the ease with which they change. Culture traits which relate to early and personal kinds of enculturation seem to be difficult to change. Traits which are mostly technological are easier to change.

Throughout the world, people appear to accept technological changes which will make work easier, increase the amount of goods, or bring more free time. A man who would not change his marriage customs will give up his hand plow for a tractor. A man who would not change his religion will give up his spear for a gun. Even Americans, who boast about their ability to change, find it easier to take over new machines for producing goods than it is to accept new ways for caring for the needy, sick, and old people. Social inventions frequently bring about social change.

An example of the impact of an invention on the culture is the automobile. Make up a list of everything you can think of that the automobile affects in some way, from drive-in hamburger and ice cream stands to bookmobiles. You will find out that not only is the automobile more than a means of transportation, it is a technological innovation that has changed the way Americans live.

Major technological innovations, like the automobile, act on the culture like a stone thrown into a pond of water. The waves of change move outward to all aspects of the culture--to economics, industry, housing, social organization, family, and religion.

Summary

Culture is both stable and dynamic. It seems stable to the people living in it because their lives seem to follow a fixed routine. Culture change takes place through innovation. Innovation comes about through invention and discovery and diffusion. Acculturation is the contact between different cultures; contact may bring about change. The more traits there are in a culture and the more contact with other cultures, the more opportunity there is to add things to the culture. There is so little change in some cultures that they may be called stable. An example is the Arunta culture. Other cultures work to bring about change. An example is the American culture. Cultures like the American are dynamic. Culture growth results from the accumulation of culture.

Let us now return to the questions raised in the introduction. Why can an American reach for the moon? Why does an Arunta live in the stone age? To these questions it is not possible to give only one answer. The reasons appear to be many, as indicated in the preceding discussion.

Americans are the heirs of a rich scientific and technological tradition. Americans live in a rich country, have a large population with many additions of new peoples, many established schools, a stable government, and economic and political institutions which encourage change. The Arunta have a sparse technological inheritance, live in a desert, are few in number, have lived in isolation with little outside contact, and do not foster change. But man may never know, with all his explanations, the source of the creative spark which hurls some men toward the moon while some men are still earthbound, hunting kangaroos with a curved stick.

The Concept of Culture

Pupil Study Guide

Publication No. 17
Anthropology Curriculum Project
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

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To be used in connection with "A Sequential Curriculum in Anthropology for Grades 1-7."

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The curriculum development reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, under the provision of the Cooperative Research Program (Contract H-128/OE 4-10-204).

Using the Guide to "Concept of Culture"

Anthropology will give you many new ideas. It will give you many new words. It will provide you with a scientific way to think about yourself as an American. It will give you scientific concepts to think about other people.

This study guide will help you get the most from the Grade 4 unit "Concept of Culture." Each chapter contains the following:

Word list. It is important to master the anthropological words. To think scientifically about man as an anthropologist does, it is necessary to use the scientific words he uses to describe and explain.

Key ideas. These will help you concentrate on the major points in each chapter.

Things to do. The suggested activities will help fix in your mind the key ideas and basic terms. You may think up other things which you prefer to do.

Thought questions. These cannot be answered directly from any one part of the text. To find answers, you will have to apply the knowledge learned.

Review questions. These will help you to check your mastery of many of the ideas presented.

In the back of the study guide, there is a general vocabulary. Anthropological terms are defined in the text as well as in the vocabulary.

Before studying a chapter in the text, read the study guide carefully. This will give you a map of the chapter and help you know what it is about. Your reading and study will therefore be more meaningful.

After reading the text, use the study guide to help master the material in the lesson.

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I. HOW WE STUDY PEOPLE

A. Anthropological terms I must use:

anthropologist
anthropology
archaeologist
Arunta

field study
interview
observation
  participant observation

B. Key ideas I am to look for and learn about are:

1. What is anthropology?
2. What is an anthropologist?
3. How does an anthropologist study people scientifically?
4. What is an archaeologist?
5. Why are detailed notes and records about man important?

C. Things I can do:

1. Read about the work of the anthropologist and archaeologist. Write a brief report of their activities which you might share with the class.

2. Collect pictures of children from other cultures engaged in different activities.

3. Collect pictures of anthropologists at work which illustrate these three kinds of investigation:
   (a) the historical study method of library research
   (b) the participant observation method
   (c) the observation method.

4. Make a scrapbook of the pictures cut from magazines as mentioned in 2 and 3 above.

5. Select the best pictures collected by the class and mount on poster boards to show:
   (a) the work of the anthropologist and of the

archaeologist
(b) how our culture differs from that of other people in other lands.

D. Questions to help me think:

1. In this lesson you learned that an anthropologist is a scientist who studies man. In the next lesson you will learn that a biologist is a scientist who studies living things. A man is a living thing. What, then, is the difference in the way an anthropologist studies man from the way a biologist studies man?
2. Can you think of the names of any other scientists who study about man? In what way is their study of man different from that of the anthropologist?
3. Do you suppose there might be different kinds of anthropologists, that is, anthropologists interested in different aspects of the life of man? If an anthropologist were primarily interested in the physical characteristics of men, what kind of anthropologist do you suppose he would be called? If another were primarily interested in studying about the cultural aspects of men, what do you suppose he would be called?
4. Even if you can't go to the Amazon, Africa, or Asia to study people, could you do field study in the United States? How?

E. Review questions:

1. What is anthropology?
2. What does the archaeologist study?
3. What methods does the anthropologist use?
4. Why are notes about the activities of men important?

II. CONCEPT OF CULTURE

A. Anthropological terms I must use:

culture
economy
religion
social organization
technology
values

B. Key ideas I am to look for and learn about are:

1. What is culture?
2. What is the relation of biological drives to culture?
3. Why is culture man's method of adapting to his environment?
4. How is culture learned?
5. What are some traits that all people possess?

C. Things I can do:

1. Collect pictures of types of tools used in various cultures to share with the class.

2. Collect pictures which visually demonstrate the way man:
   (a) adjusts to his environment
   (b) modifies his environment.

3. Read stories about children in other cultures. Find out how they do things differently from the manner in which we do them in our culture.

D. Questions to help me think:

1. Where do we find Eskimos? How have they adapted to their environment? Do we find men living in deserts? Do we find men living in very hot, wet climates? Do we find men living in high mountain regions? Man, then, is an animal that can live in a great variety of habitats. Why is this?

2. In the Southwest desert of the United States

we have two kinds of Indians--Hopi and Navaho. The Hopi are farmers and live in houses built close together called Pueblos. The Navahos are herdsmen and live in log and dirt Hogans. These hogans are not in villages like the Hopi. How can you account for these differences when both the Hopi and the Navaho live in the same environment?

3. John took a cow to town and exchanged it for a horse. Mr. Jones went to the bank and bought a bill of credit for a shipment of goods from Tokyo. Do these transactions represent different economies? If so, what are they? Which one is most efficient for an industrial culture?

E. Review questions:

1. What is culture?
2. What is evolution?
3. What is meant by adaptation?
4. What is a common type of division of labor found in the United States?
5. What is the difference between exchange using a money and a barter economy? Give some examples.
6. Name some different ways in which the anthropologist may use the term "value."

III. CULTURAL UNIVERSALS AND CULTURAL VARIATION

A. Anthropological terms I must use:

artifact
bride price
capital goods
clan
community
consensus
consumer goods
diviner
economics
exogamy
extended family
herding
household
hunting and gathering
kinship
kumiss
lineage
material culture
nomadic
nuclear family
pastoral economy
pastoral nomads
pastoralists
patrilineal
preliterate
religion
scapulimancy
technology
tool
totem
totemism
trait
unilineal
universals
values
yurt

B. Key ideas I am to look for and learn about are:

1. What is meant by cultural universals?
2. What is meant by cultural variation?
3. How do we identify universals in culture?
4. How do we identify variations in culture?
5. What are examples of universals and variations:
   (a) in the cultures of the Arunta, Kazak, and American?
   (b) in other cultures which you may have read about?

C. Things I can do:

1. Make puppets to show American, Kazak, and Arunta cultures.

2. Write short plays for the puppets to show the way they would live in their culture.

3. Build a stage for the puppets. A cardboard box such as those used for shipping electric stoves and refrigerators makes a good stage.

4. Have a debate about these topics:
   (a) (American, Kazak, Arunta) culture provides greater freedom of activity for its citizens.
   (b) (American, Kazak, Arunta) culture has closer family relationships.
   (c) (American, Kazak, Arunta) people have greater satisfaction in their jobs.

5. Construct a model of an American home, a Kazak yurt, and an Arunta windbreak. What similarities and differences do they have?

D. Questions to help me think:

1. It is said that the productivity of a people is a measure of their level of technology. Can you explain this idea?

2. Why is it possible for a different house type to serve the same function?

3. Why is the amount of consumer goods dependent on the amount of capital goods? What implication does this have for the economic development of underdeveloped countries?

4. What kind of economic role does the American housewife and mother play in the American economy?

5. Do you suppose the feeling of "community" decreases with the size of the community? Explain your answer.

6. There are many different kinds of religious

groups in the United States. Why is this possible?

E. Review questions:

1. What is a cultural universal?
2. Why is there cultural variation? Is cultural variation useful to man?
3. Are the three aspects of all cultures--economic, social organization, and religion--related? Explain.
4. How may the tools a people possess influence what they can make?
5. Why do we have housing?
6. Why do people wear clothing?
7. How do the Americans, Arunta, and Kazak earn a living?
8. What are the basic functions of the family?
9. Do all people have some religious beliefs? Explain.

IV. ENCULTURATION

A. Anthropological terms I must use:

enculturation
life cycle
oral teaching
preliterate
role
totemic group

B. Key ideas I am to look for and learn about are:

1. What is enculturation?
2. Why is rearing important?
3. How does imitation aid enculturation?
4. Why are traditions important in enculturation?
5. How does schooling help in learning a culture?

C. Things I can do:

1. List as many ways as possible in which you learn your culture.

2. Write a theme on one of the following:
   (a) Enculturation helps a child be creative
   (b) Enculturation hinders a child in being creative.

3. List the activities of the home, school, and church or synagogue in enculturation. In a parallel column, list the activities you think they ought to do which they are not now doing. You and some friends might have a panel discussion on this subject.

4. Have a class discussion about some popular conceptions of American history which are not factually correct. Example: "Americans developed this country by themselves." Actually, some 40,000,000 "Americans" came from Europe. Would the development of this country have been as quick without this immigration? Examine such concepts as diffusion and acculturation in the light of this occurrence.

D. Questions to help me think:

1. George, a Spanish boy, aged ten, was adopted by American parents. George had never had any previous contact with Americans. Is the task before him one of enculturation or acculturation? Explain your answer.
2. Paul was a Japanese boy. He was ten months old when he was adopted by an American couple stationed in Japan. They came back to the United States when Paul was three years old. Paul had always had a Japanese nurse and he spoke to his nurse in Japanese and to his step-parents in English. Is the social task of Paul one of enculturation or acculturation?
3. Which child might face the most difficulties in becoming an American--George or Paul? Explain your answer.
4. You have heard the expression "Don't be a copy cat." When would this be good advice and when would it be bad advice?

E. Review questions:

1. What is enculturation?
2. When does enculturation begin? When does it end?
3. What are some ways a baby learns by imitating adults?
4. What are some American traditions you have learned?
5. Why is schooling very important to your future?

V. CULTURAL DYNAMICS

A. Anthropological terms I must use:

- acculturation
  - syncretism
- cultural continuity
  - death
  - disorganization
  - dynamics
  - stability
- culture lag
- diffusion
  - primary
  - secondary
  - selective
  - stimulus
- discovery
- innovation
- invention
  - independent invention
- isolation
- modification of existing trait
- trait
- Yir Yoront

B. Key ideas I am to look for and learn about are:

1. What do we mean by culture change?
2. What brings about change in a culture?
3. What factors help to cause cultural change?
4. What factors retard cultural change?
5. What happens in a culture when:
   (a) change is uneven?
   (b) change breaks down former ways of doing things?

C. Things I can do:

1. Make a large time line which you can put over the blackboard in the front of the room. This should be 15 to 25 feet long and 12 to 18 inches high. Begin at the time man first made tools from stone. This first recording on the time line should read "about 1,000,000 B. C., Stone Tools." From that time forward, add as many innovations as you can recall or look up in books. Bring the time chart up to 1965 and America's most recent space venture.

2. Construct poster charts depicting innovations past and present which have occurred through discovery and invention, using pictures with appropriate captions.

3. Read biographies of famous inventors and discoverers. Explain to the class how their actions have modified man's culture.

4. Have your parents come to the classroom for an exhibit and explanation of your work. Arrange a program for them. Give the puppet play; read some of the best themes; explain the time line to them, etc.

D. Questions to help me think:

1. It has been said that culture lag is primarily a failure in social inventions to keep up with the pace of technical inventions. Do you think you can explain this statement?

2. In Georgia and many parts of the United States water pollution is a major problem. Is water pollution in 1965 an example of cultural lag? Explain your answer.

3. Do you know of any sub-cultures in a major culture area living in what amounts to cultural isolation?

4. Is there any reason why the example of the Cherokee syllabary could not have been described as syncretism just as well as stimulus diffusion? Explain your answer.

5. Innovation has both primary and secondary effects. If the airplane was invented first of all so that people could be transported faster, what were some of the secondary effects?

E. Review questions:

1. Why is there cultural change?

2. What is innovation?
3. What is the difference between invention and discovery?
4. What is the principle of cultural continuity or modification?
5. What are some factors that help bring about invention and discovery?
6. What is diffusion? Name and define four types of diffusion.
7. How could you determine if a trait were acquired by diffusion or invented independently?
8. What is acculturation?
9. How may the extent of acculturation differ?
10. Can you give an example of:
    (a) culture stability
    (b) culture lag?
11. What would happen if cultures did not resist change at all? Explain your answer.
12. Do all traits change at the same rate? Explain your answer.

VOCABULARY

* acculturation - change which takes place in cultures as a result of people in one culture having contact with another.

acquisition - obtaining.

adaptation - changing in order to fit better.

Allah - Arabic name for "The God."

Americanization - the adoption of the culture of Americans.

Amish - a Mennonite religious group particularly noted for their emphasis on traditional ways of farming and living and their resistance to modern social and technical changes.

analysis - a separating or breaking up of something into its parts.

(to) analyze - to separate something into its parts.

* anthropologist - scientist who studies man.

* anthropology - the scientific study of man. From "Anthropos"--a Greek word for man or human being, and "ology"--meaning study of.

* archaeologist - an anthropologist who studies men who lived long ago by digging up the remains of their houses or towns.

Articles of Confederation - first constitution of the United States, ratified in 1781, which established a union of states without a strong national government; replaced by the Constitution of the United States drafted in 1787.

* artifact - anything produced by human effort.

artificial power - power produced from the energy of fuels, such as coal and oil, in contrast to animal power.

*Anthropological term

* Arunta - Australian bushmen; one of the aboriginal or native tribes of Australia.

aspect - a way that a person may look at or think about something.

astronaut - a traveller in interplanetary space.

automatic biological tendency - acting in a way without learning.

automation - the use of machines for continuous production with a minimum amount of operation by workers.

(to) barter - to trade by exchanging one commodity for another.

biological drive - a want growing out of the chemistry of the animal, such as thirst and hunger.

biology - the study of living things.

blasted into space - shot into space by a great burst of energy in a rocket.

* bride price - payment of goods to compensate a household for loss of a daughter; a means of institutionalizing the rights and obligations between the groups concerned.

buggy - four-wheeled, horse drawn vehicle with a high seat, usually with a cover but open in front.

capacity - ability.

* capital goods - the tools or other material items which are used in production.

carriage body - the superstructure of a carriage in which the passengers sit.

* clan - a cluster of relatives, claiming descent from one sex line only (either mother or father), who are held together by the belief that they descended from a common ancestor.

* clan exogamy - marriage outside of the clan.

clutch - a device for breaking the chain of power transmission.

code - any system of communication.

collective farm - a type of farm developed in Russia in which the agricultural work is performed together by all the farmers in the group, or collective, and the profits from the sale of the products is distributed among the members.

colonization - the settlement of a new territory.

command pilot - one in command of an airplane or spacecraft.

* community - a group of people who live in a particular geographic area and who share a common way of doing things together.

(to) compare - to take two or more things and point out their similarities and their differences.

complex (adj.) - complicated, intricate; not simple.

* consensus - agreement by mutual consent.

* consumer goods - goods which are used up in living.

contradiction - opposition or inconsistency in a condition of things; a logical incongruity.

cosmonaut - a person who travels in space, from the Greek *kosmos*, meaning universe.

crude - primitive; not completely finished.

(to) cultivate - to prepare the soil for the growing of crops.

* cultural continuity - implies that culture changes are not entirely new, but come from traits already in the culture.

* cultural death - the extinction of a culture.

* cultural disorganization - the breakdown in the fundamentals of a culture.

* cultural dynamics - concerned with the origin, nature, direction, and spread of cultural change; dynamics conveys the idea of motion in contrast to rest.

* cultural stability - the way some culture traits stay the same when others change.

* culture - the way of life of a group of people; the way in which a group adjusts to its total setting.

* culture lag - the way some traits of a culture fall behind other traits.

cycle - a re-occuring sequence of the same events.

decode - to take a message out of the code into ordinary language so that it can be understood.

desert - a dry region, with little plant life.

detailed - dealing with something item by item; covering every possible thing about an object, event, etc.

* diffusion - a process by which a trait moves from one culture to another.

* discovery - finding out something that was formerly unknown; implies finding something which existed before but was not known.

* diviner - one who foretells, prophesizes, or predicts.

division of labor - way of dividing up and sharing work.

dome - rounded, shaped like half a globe.

domesticated - an animal or plant trained or bred for use in agriculture, in contrast to wild animals and plants.

duplex - a house designed to contain two families.

* economy - the way a people produce, buy, sell, or trade, and consume.

* economics - all the activities of man that are concerned with production, exchange, and consumption of items of value.

encode - to put a message into a code.

* enculturation - process by which a person learns the culture of his group from birth.

endurance - ability to withstand pain and hardship.

environment - world in which plants and animals live.

evolution - changes that slowly take place in living things over a very long period of time.

(to) evolve - to make a better adjustment to the changing environment.

* exogamy - system of marrying outside one's social group (see also clan exogamy).

* extended family - a social group consisting of several related individual families, especially those of a man and his sons, or a woman and her daughters, residing in a single large dwelling or a cluster of smaller ones.

factory - a building or collection of buildings with machinery for the manufacture of goods from raw materials.

felt (noun) - a heavy cloth made by rolling and pressing together wool, fur, or hair.

* field study - the scientific observation of an actual culture, or people by living with them; also applied to an archaeological investigation.

gear - grooved wheel with teeth so that the teeth from another gear can fit into it and transmit motion.

Gemini - twin; name given to a two-seated United States spacecraft.

(to) graze - to feed on growing grass or other plants.

* herding - a way of life in which men supply their needs by caring for groups of animals from which they obtain most of the necessities of life.

heroic - brave.

high rise apartment - a multi-storied building which contains many apartments.

honey ant - any ant which is able to store honey in its body.

*household - includes the family and anyone who lives with the family in a single dwelling unit.

household furnishings - all those items of physical equipment that serve to fit a house for occupancy.

house style - a particular class of houses which can be distinguished on the basis of type of construction and decoration.

house type - a class or category of houses which exhibit distinguishable characteristics.

*hunting and gathering - a way of life in which the people depend for food on what they can gather in a wild state from their environment, and in which neither plants nor animals have been domesticated.

imitation - attempt to follow a model or pattern.

immigration - the passage of people into a country.

industrialized - of or pertaining to an economy with power machines and factories.

inherited physical characteristics - biological traits which children get from their parents, such as hair color and height.

initiation - a ceremony or rite which admits a person or persons into a society.

*innovation - the introduction of new traits into a culture; a new way of doing things.

insulation (in houses) - a material or substance which retards the loss of heat.

*interview - to ask questions in a planned manner.

*invention - intentional development of new culture traits.

*independent invention - invention of similar traits in different cultures without diffusion or acculturation.

inventory - the amount of goods on hand.

Islam - a universal monotheistic religion based on the teachings of the prophet Mohammed, which emphasizes the belief in one God, called Allah.

* isolation - to be separated or cut off.

kangaroo - a native mammal of Australia which has a small head, large ears, two powerful hind legs, a long thick tail used for support and balance and two small forelegs not used for walking.

* kinship - relationship as by descent from a common ancestor.

know-how - the knowledge and skills required for the performance of any particular task.

Koran - a religious book believed to contain the sayings of Allah.

* kumiss - a slightly alcoholic nourishing drink made from mare's milk.

labor - use of human effort to do a job.

language - the way we talk.

learning - to acquire knowledge or skill by studying or being taught.

* life cycle - period from birth to death.

* lineage - a unilateral kinship system whose members trace their relationship to a common ancestor.

literate - pertaining to people and cultures who have invented or acquired writing to record their language.

machinery - complex tools consisting of parts which are organized to perform work.

majority - greater number.

manners - polite behavior.

market - a type of economy in which the prices for goods and services result from the interaction of offers to buy and sell.

* material culture - that part of culture which can be touched or seen.

Mecca - the holy city of the Islamic religion.

membership - being a member, belonging to a group.

migration - the movement of people, usually groups.

minority - smaller number.

* modification of existing trait - principle which explains cultural change as gradual replacement rather than introduction of something completely new; see cultural continuity.

money - a symbol for value used in buying and selling.

money economy - an economic system in which a physical symbol (money) is used to represent the value of goods and services.

mullah - a religious teacher who reads the Koran.

multiple family unit - a building designed to house more than one family; an apartment building.

Muslim - a member of the faith called Islam.

myth - a story which is not true, but which is used for the purpose of teaching or explanation.

mythology - collection of myths.

* nomadic - pertaining to groups that have no single permanent home.

non-violent protest - a form of social protest devised by the Indian leader Mahatma Ghandi, in which those protesting were not supposed to use violence against the army or police if arrested or attacked.

* nuclear family - a man, his wife, and their children.

* observation - a method of studying people by watching what they do.

official language - a language used by the government and for teaching in countries which have several languages.

*oral teaching - teaching by word of mouth, in contrast to using books.

orbit - the path of a body in the sky around another body in the sky, such as, "the orbit of the moon around the earth."

ordeal - trial, difficulty.

pallets - a simple type of bed.

parliamentary system - a legislative system in which the executive is a committee drawn from the legislature and responsible to it; the head of the dominant political party in the legislature, or parliament, is by custom the prime minister or head of government.

*participant observation - a method of studying people by watching what they do and working alongside them.

(to) participate - to take part in.

*pastoralists - those persons whose productive economy and way of life focus on the rearing of grazing animals which furnish a major portion of their sustenance.

*pastoral economy - a means of making a living where the rearing of grazing animals furnishes the major portion of sustenance.

*pastoral nomads - people who move over large areas of land in order to find grazing food for their flocks of domesticated animals.

*patrilineal - describes groups in which the name, property, and authority is handed down through the male line from father to son.

pilgrimage - a journey to a holy place.

Polynesians - people inhabiting a group of islands in the central Pacific area bounded by Hawaii, New Zealand, and Easter Island.

power loom - a loom in which the shuttle carrying the weft (cross) threads through the warp (vertical) threads and other parts of the loom are activated by power rather than by the weaver, as in a hand loom.

* preliterate - pertaining to people and cultures who have not invented or acquired writing to record their language.

* primary diffusion - passage of a trait directly from one culture to another.

property - a peculiar and characteristic quality of anything.

quality - a special or distinguishing attribute.

reapportion - to change the make up of districts for representation on the basis of the number of people.

rearing - everything that parents do to raise their children.

* religion - a system of beliefs and practices governed by faith rather than knowledge.

remains - what is left after part has been used, destroyed, etc.

replace - substitute, put in place of.

reports - a telling or account of something, often written or in printed form.

research - the attempt to find answers to questions by systematic enquiry or experimentation.

resistance - being against or opposed to.

* role - kind of behavior a society expects of a person in a given situation.

Roman alphabet - name given to alphabet modeled after characters first devised by Romans, and used in Western countries.

row house - a series of single family dwellings having common walls so as to form a continuous row.

satellite - a body in the sky which has an orbit around another.

* scapulimancy - foretelling the future by "reading" the cracks in a sheep's shoulder blade.

school - to teach; also, a place to teach in a systematic manner.

schooling - to teach the symbolic culture of writing and numbers.

scientific attitude - one which deliberately asks questions and seeks to find answers; one which demands conclusions based on verified facts and experimentation in contrast to conclusions based on theory or opinion.

scientific culture - one in which there is an extensive body of organized knowledge and new knowledge is actively sought after by research and experimentation.

scientific language - a language which contains extensive words to show knowledge gained by research and experimentation, in contrast to a local language or dialect which is used for personal communication and passing on an oral tradition.

seasonal migration - a regular movement (of pastoral nomads) which is correlated with the change of seasons and is repeated every year.

* secondary diffusion - passage of a trait to a culture through intermediate cultures.

* selective diffusion - process by which one culture accepts some traits and rejects others.

shear (verb) - to cut, clip, or sever (as wool from sheep).

single family dwelling - a house which is designed to contain only one family.

* social organization - the way people live together in groups.

sod - the upper portion of the soil which is filled with and held together by the roots of grass and other herbs.

Soviet government - the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the U.S.S.R., commonly called Russia, which is the main European part of the U.S.S.R. west of the Aral mountains.

space - the area out beyond the atmosphere of the planet Earth.

spacecraft - a vehicle designed to be used in flights in space.

space technology - techniques and knowledge pertaining to flight and exploration in space.

spear thrower - a device which gives additional force or leverage to a thrown spear.

special - having a quality or character of its own.

spinning jenny - a machine for making thread.

stalking - pursuing game animals stealthily or under cover.

standard of living - amount of goods and services which are needed to meet some level of living for a people or class of people; example, "Some Americans have a higher standard of living than do other Americans."

steaming - hot, and damp, as referring to the weather.

steppe - a vast plain devoid of forest, which receives little rainfall and supports only grasses which can survive on little moisture.

* stimulus diffusion - the adoption of the idea of a trait, rather than the diffusion of the trait.

subsistence level - the minimum amount of material goods that a person or a group must have in order to survive.

suburb - an outlying part of a city or town.

surplus - that which remains when use or need is satisfied; the excess.

survival - the continuation of life or existence.

syllabary - a writing system in which each syllable is assigned a separate symbol.

symbol - sign.

symbol manipulation - the use of writing, reading, and numbers to convey ideas.

* syncretism - partial acculturation in which new and older traits are mixed.

* technology - total of the techniques possessed by the members of a society.

(to) thatch - to cover with straw, reeds, rushes, etc.

* tool - any material device employed by man to transform raw materials into a more usable form or to construct other or more elaborate tools.

* totem - an object, often an animal or plant, held in special regard by an individual or social group.

* totemic group - group which has the same totem.

* totemism - all the beliefs and practices connected with totems.

trade - to give in exchange for some other commodity.

traditions - customs and beliefs of a people transmitted from one generation to another.

* trait - a part or unit of a culture, behavioral or material.

transmit - pass on.

underdeveloped country - a country with a low level of technology, schooling, use of resources, and low per capita income.

* unilineal - one line. In terms of a family, taking into account of either the father's line or the mother's line, but not both.

universal (adj.) - common to all people.

* universal (noun) - attributes which cultures have in common.

urban - having to do with cities and towns.

* values - the established ideals, attitudes, beliefs, ways of acting, etc., that the members of a society regard as desirable.

variation - the degree of departure from the normal or usual.

wages - money paid for work done.

(to) wander - to go from place to place in an aimless way.

weapon - a specialized tool for fighting.

witchetty grub - a wormlike insect larva which is eaten by the Arunta.

writing - a way of recording speech by symbols which stand for sounds.

yak - a large domesticated ox found in the high lands of central Asia.

* Yir Yoront - Australian aboriginal group similar to the Arunta.

* yurt - a type of round tent, the roof and sides of which are made of felt.

A Sequential Curriculum in Anthropology

TEST: FORM 4

Composite Form for Pre- and Post-Test

Anthropology Curriculum Project
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Publication No. 42

Revised
January, 1968

DIRECTIONS

This test consists of fifty items plus ten optional items. Each item has four possible answers. You are to read each question carefully and choose the **one** answer you think is best. On your answer sheet blacken in the space having the same number as the answer you think is best. There is only one right answer for each question. Do not write on this test booklet.

Look at the following examples.

EXAMPLES:

A. Georgia is a

1. city.
2. nation.
3. state.
4. county.

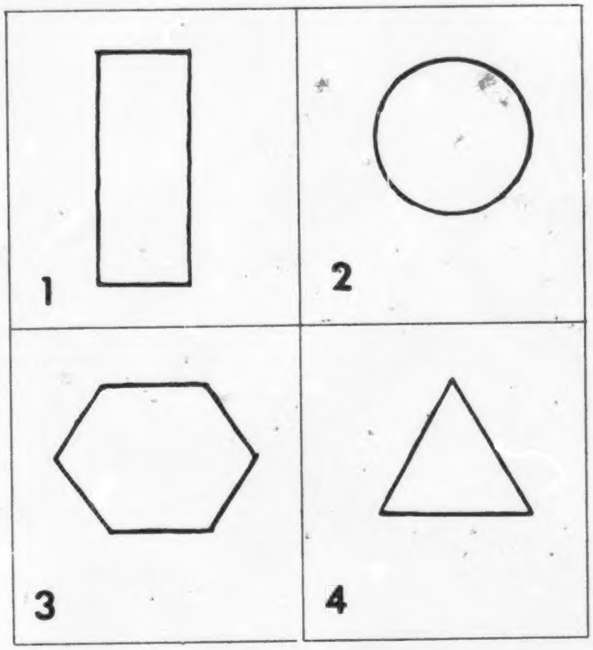
B. Which of the following is NOT an animal?

1. Doll
2. Cat
3. Kangaroo
4. Dog

C. Each of the following is a day of the week EXCEPT

1. Sunday.
2. Tuesday.
3. Friday.
4. June.

Use these four pictures to answer the question below them.



D. Which of these pictures shows a circle?

1. Picture 1
2. Picture 2
3. Picture 3
4. Picture 4

1. The earliest way of getting food was probably

   1. chopping and picking.
   2. agriculture.
   3. horticulture.
   4. gathering and hunting.

2. Which of these tools was probably the earliest used by man?

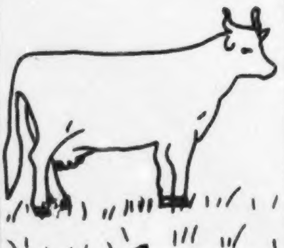
   1. Bow and arrow
   2. Digging stick
   3. Iron hoe
   4. Spear thrower

3. A child first learns about his culture from his

   1. playmates.
   2. class in school.
   3. family.
   4. church group.

4. Which of the pictures below shows a material culture trait?

   1. Picture 1
   2. Picture 2
   3. Picture 3
   4. Picture 4



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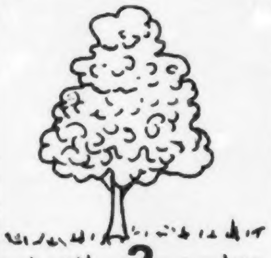

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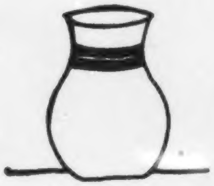

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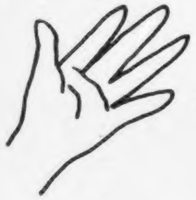


4

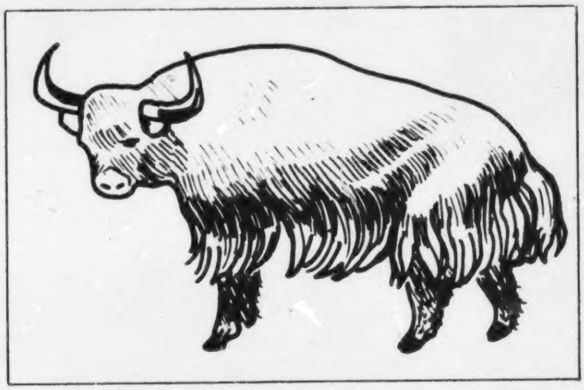
5. The things which we think and believe are all part of our

   1. economy.
   2. culture.
   3. technology.
   4. social organization.

6. Which would be the best way for an anthropologist to learn about a new group of people?

   1. Read a book on the history of the people.
   2. Watch a movie about the life of the people.
   3. Live with the people for a period of time.
   4. Listen to a missionary describe his work with the people.

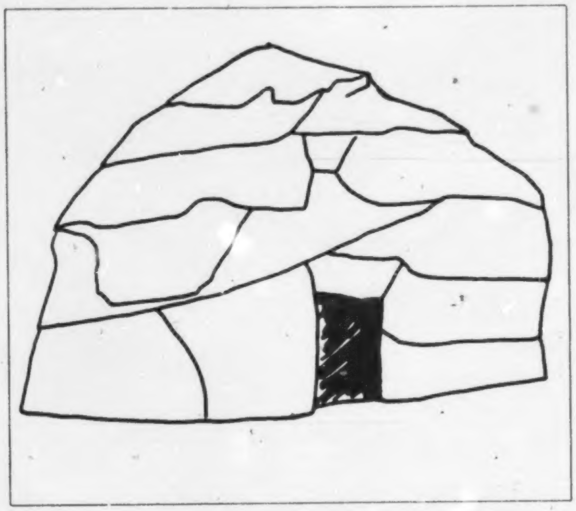
7. Use this picture to answer the question below it.



The animal in the picture above is a

   1. yak.
   2. yam.
   3. yen.
   4. yurt.

8. Here is a picture of a house. Use it to answer the Question below it.



The house in the picture above is a

1. yak.
2. yam.
3. yen.
4. yurt.

9. Which of these is an extended family?

1. Mr. and Mrs. George Brown and three of their four children.
2. Miss Mary Jones, her brother Jack, and their mother.
3. Mrs. Louise Black (whose husband is dead) and her four children.
4. Mr. and Mrs. Sam Smith, their two children, and Mr. Smith's mother and father.

10. Which of these is necessary for people to be able to live together in a village?

1. Building of roads
2. Production of food
3. Development of metal working
4. Development of trade

Read the following story. Use what you learn from it to answer questions 11-15.

An anthropologist observes a group of people. He notices that they live in very crude houses and even sleep out of doors much of the time. They must constantly move around to find animals to hunt and roots to dig for food. They use sticks and stones for tools. To learn more about them, the anthropologist decides to join in their search for food. He stays with them for several months, and then returns to his own home to tell others about the new people.

11. The anthropologist could be called

1. an archeologist.
2. a cultural historian.
3. a linguist.
4. a participant observer.

12. The tools used by these people could be called

1. pottery.
2. artifacts.
3. values.
4. vehicles.

13. These people might be the

1. Arunta.
2. Eskimo.
3. Hopi.
4. Kazak.

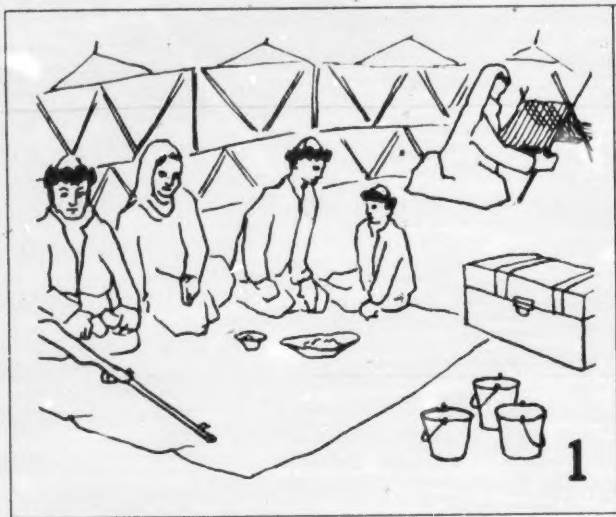
14. These people make their living by

1. agriculture and herding.
2. horticulture and grazing.
3. hunting and gathering.
4. technology and art.

15. After he returns home, the anthropologist will tell others about the group of people he has studied. Which of these would he need MOST to help him describe these people?

1. Examples of the tools used by the people
2. Daily records of the activities of the people
3. One of the men from the group of people to come home with him
4. Pictures of the religious ceremonies of the people

Here are four pictures of families. Use the pictures to answer questions 16 & 17.



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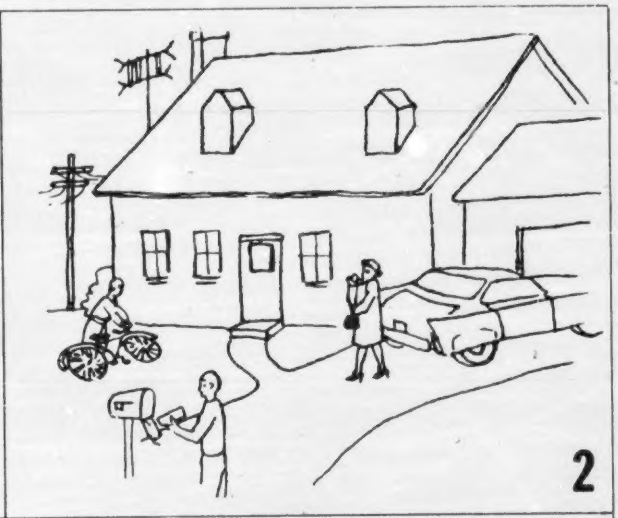

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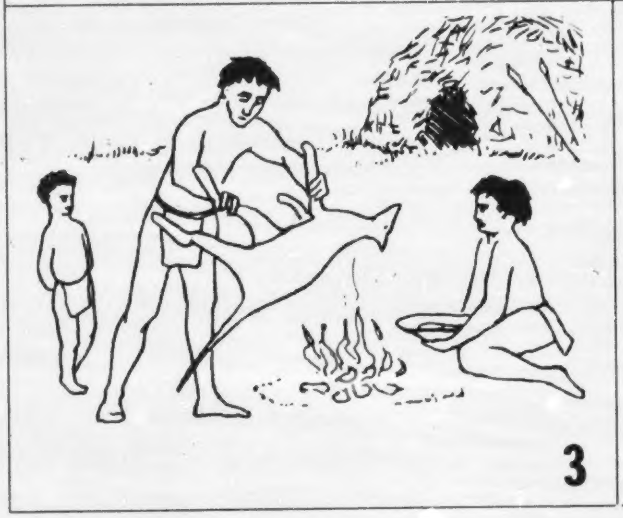

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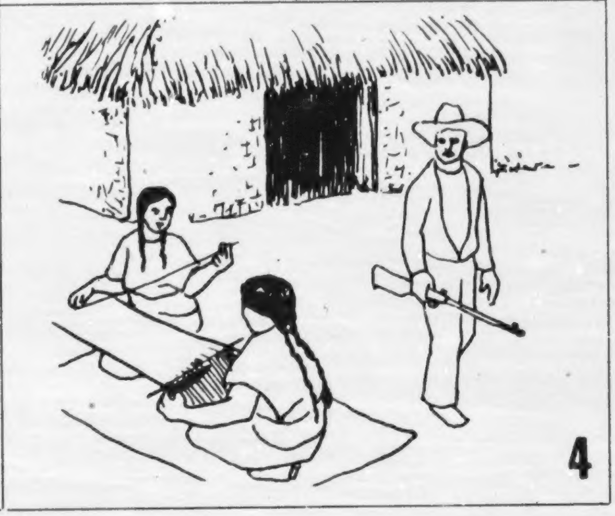

4

16. Which is likely to be an Arunta Family?

    1. Family 1
    2. Family 2
    3. Family 3
    4. Family 4

17. Which is likely to be a Kazak Family?

    1. Family 1
    2. Family 2
    3. Family 3
    4. Family 4

18. Which of these is a nuclear family?

    1. Mr. and Mrs. Bill Smith and their two children
    2. Mr. and Mrs. Sam Jones and Sam's brother Joe
    3. Brothers Bob and Tom Johnson and both of their wives
    4. Mr. and Mrs. Jim Brown, their three children, and Mrs. Brown's mother.

19. Which of these is necessary for people to be able to live together in a city?

    1. Manufacturing
    2. Transportation
    3. Religion
    4. Agriculture

20. Which of these is an aspect of Arunta social organization?

    1. Government
    2. Occupation
    3. Level of Education
    4. Kinship

21. Which of these could be called consumer goods?

    1. Factories
    2. Foods
    3. Tools
    4. Weapons

22. People who get their food by hunting and gathering USUALLY live in

    1. wooden or brick houses.
    2. wagons.
    3. huts, tents, or natural shelters.
    4. log cabins.

23. Which of these is a type of field study?

    1. Living with a new group of people
    2. Looking at artifacts in a museum
    3. Reading books about a group of people
    4. Studying anthropology in school

24. Which of these is an aspect of Kazak social organizations?

    1. Common interests
    2. Kinship
    3. Level of education
    4. Technology

25. The process of learning one's own culture is known as

    1. acculturation.
    2. bioculturation.
    3. deculturation.
    4. enculturation.

26. People who make their living by herding USUALLY live in

    1. caves.
    2. homes which can be taken down and put up quickly.
    3. wooden houses.
    4. brick houses.

27. Which of these statements is true about culture?

    1. The way of life of a group of people is their culture.
    2. While individual people are different, culture is the same everywhere.
    3. Cultural differences are always very difficult to recognize.
    4. Although cultures may be different, culture traits are the same everywhere.

28. Which of these is NOT a form of social organization?

    1. Church group
    2. Family
    3. Nomad
    4. Workers' union

29. Which of these statements is NOT true concerning culture?

    1. All men have culture.
    2. Culture changes through time.
    3. Culture traits are the same everywhere.
    4. There are many different cultures.

30. Which of these is used LEAST in a field study in anthropology?

    1. Observation
    2. Participation
    3. Questioning
    4. Reading

31. The central theme of anthropology is

    1. archeology.
    2. culture.
    3. geography.
    4. language.

32. Which of these would anthropologists study LEAST?

    1. Group differences among peoples
    2. Group similarities among peoples
    3. Physical traits among groups of people
    4. Physical characteristics of individuals

33. Which of the following has the LEAST developed technology?

    1. Arunta
    2. Hopi
    3. Kazak
    4. American

34. Mr. Smith left his job in the city and bought a farm. One day Mr. Smith said: "Jack, I want to raise apples in this field. You and Tom take these apple seeds and plant them one foot apart so that we will have plenty of apple bushes. Harry, I want you to sprinkle this flour all over the south field—we'll raise wheat there. Eddie, you take these potato plants I bought, plant them in the north field and roll the tractor over them. I'm wild about mashed potatoes."

    Mr. Smith did NOT have one of the factors of production that he needed. It was

    1. land.
    2. tools.
    3. labor.
    4. know-how.

35. Which sentence below is NOT true about the Arunta and Kazak cultures?

    1. Almost all social organization is based on kinship.
    2. Most of the people are nomads.
    3. The people use tools which we would call primitive.
    4. Governments control the activities of most of the people.

36. Which of these is a part of your enculturation process?

    1. Learning to tie your shoes
    2. Learning to eat a foreign food
    3. Learning to speak a foreign language
    4. Having your tonsils removed

37. Which of these is a cultural universal?
    1. Money
    2. Permanent houses
    3. Recreation
    4. School buildings

38. All of these words may be used to describe culture EXCEPT
    1. changing.
    2. inborn.
    3. learned.
    4. universal.

39. Which culture has a religion based on Totemism?
    1. Arunta
    2. American
    3. Kazak
    4. Hopi

40. A culture that belongs to the faith called Islam is the
    1. Arunta
    2. American
    3. Kazak
    4. Hopi

41. People whose religion is based on the Judeo-Christian tradition are the
    1. Arunta
    2. American
    3. Kazak
    4. Hopi

42. Religion is a cultural universal. This means that
    1. all Americans are religious.
    2. some societies have some kind of religion.
    3. all societies have some kind of religion.
    4. no culture has religion except the American.

43. The God that the Kazak worship is called
    1. Koran.
    2. Mecca.
    3. Allah.
    4. Muslim.

44. The Arunta, Kazak, and American cultures are similar because they all
    1. worship God.
    2. have a religious system.
    3. read the Bible.
    4. believe in the same religion.

45. Things that people believe are good in a culture are called
    1. values.
    2. gifts.
    3. games.
    4. toys.

46. Anthropologists find that all people share some cultural traits. These common cultural traits are called
    1. universals.
    2. variations.
    3. differences.
    4. drives.

47. By studying similarities and differences in the way people live, anthropologists have found that all people
    1. make their living in the same way.
    2. have the same form of social organization.
    3. worship the same gods.
    4. do similar things but in different ways.

48. An American girl plays with dolls. This is an example of learning through
    1. role playing.
    2. doing a task.
    3. talking.
    4. rearing.

49. Which is **not** a way the Arunta children acquire the traits of their culture?

    1. Rearing
    2. Imitation
    3. Tradition
    4. Schooling

50. Change is more rapid in which of the following cultures?

    1. Arunta
    2. American
    3. Kazak
    4. Hopi

EXPERIMENTAL MATERIAL, 1968

Developed 1965 by William W. Greene, Jr., under the supervision of Dr. Warren G. Findley; revised 1966 by Marilyn J. McCrary under the supervision of Dr. Albert J. Kingston; Revised 1968 by Robert L. Turknett under the supervision of Dr. Albert J. Kingston and Dr. E. Paul Torrance. To be used in connection with "A Sequential Curriculum in Anthropology, Grades 1-7." The curriculum development reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, under the provision of the Cooperative Research Program (Contract H-128/OE 4-10-204).

OPTIONAL ITEMS FOR CHAPTER V - CULTURAL DYNAMICS

1. The American culture has had more cultural change than the Arunta culture. The amount of cultural change in any culture depends on the amount of

   1. tradition.
   2. enculturation.
   3. innovation.
   4. religion.

2. The old gentleman said to the boy, "Son, there have been many changes in our technology in the past fifty years, but I'm afraid that social changes have fallen far behind them."
   The old gentleman is talking about

   1. cultural continuity
   2. cultural breakdown
   3. cultural lag
   4. cultural improvement

3. Several inventions, such as the wheel, the pedal, the chain, and others led to invention of the bicycle. The principle that tells us that "every new trait grows from some existing trait" is called

   1. cultural improvement.
   2. cultural continuity.
   3. acculturation.
   4. enculturation.

4. The American boy looked out the window, made of glass invented in Egypt. It was raining so he put on overshoes made of rubber discovered by the Central American Indians. The process by which a trait is passed on from one culture to another is called

   1. enculturation.
   2. diffusion.
   3. modification.
   4. automation.

5. The Arunta are **preliterate** people who live in the central desert of Australia. Preliterate people are most often found in cultures which have been

   1. isolated.
   2. diffused.
   3. acculturated.
   4. industrialized.

6. John Hawk is an American Indian who lives in a community with his family and many friends. John's ancestors used to live on the plains and hunt buffalo. Today, John, his family and friends no longer hunt buffalo. Rather, they work on farms, drive cars, go to school, serve in the armed forces, and play baseball.
   The change that took place in John's culture is called

   1. enculturation.
   2. acculturation.
   3. diffusion.
   4. modification.

7. The Kazak have replaced their traditional clan exogamy with a farm exogamy.
   Farm exogamy means that a girl will **not** marry a boy

   1. outside her clan.
   2. outside her farm.
   3. from the same clan.
   4. from the same farm.

8. Which of the following is a nonmaterial invention?

   1. telephone
   2. cotton gin
   3. Islam
   4. automobile

9. Habit, reverence for the past, and vested interest are all **resistances** to cultural change. Which of the following statements shows an attitude in **favor** of cultural change?

   1. "I've been planting corn that way for many years, and I'll be planting it that way years from now."
   2. "Bringing that highway through here would ruin my business."
   3. "Instant frozen food packaging has cut preparation time in the kitchen by about 100%."
   4. "It was good enough for my father; it's good enough for me."

10. Invention and discovery are necessary for a culture to have

    1. social change
    2. technological change
    3. cultural change
    4. all of the above